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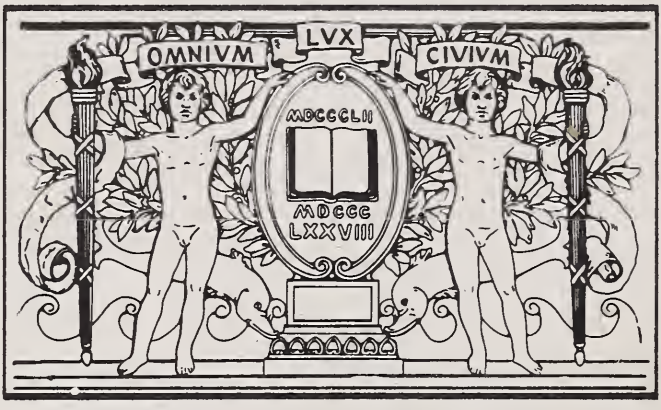

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CHARLES THE FIRST

POURTRAYED;

OR,

A RELATION OF AUTHENTIC FACTS;

SHOWING THE ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT AND ILLEGAL CONDUCT OF THAT MONARCH, TOGETHER WITH PROOFS THAT THE PRESBYTERIANS WERE NEITHER THE AUTHORS OF NOR ACCESSARIES TO HIS DEATH.

BEING

A REPUBLICATION OF A VALUABLE TRACT

ENTITLED

A LETTER TO A CLERGYMAN

RELATING TO

HIS SERMON ON THE 30th OF JANUARY,

BY

G. COADE, JUN. OF EXETER.

PRINTED FROM THE EDITION OF 1747.

THIRD EDITION.

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INTRODUCTION.

The following little work being out of print, and on an attentive perusal finding it a production of no ordinary worth, I resolved to rescue it from that oblivion to which three quarters of a century appeared to be consigning it.

Few subjects can be more interesting to a member of civil society than the history of his country; and to an Englishman, what portion more calculated to excite his admiration and to generate pure and patriotic principles in his breast, than the review of those times when *constitutional liberty, popular rights, and parliamentary privileges triumphed over lawless tyranny, despotic usurpation, and time-serving servility?* With what pride and delight must he contemplate those of his ancestors, who in the seventeenth century made that noble stand for their country's rights and liberties; and how ardently must he join in lauding those heroes by whose exertions this glorious victory was achieved; men of whom one cannot think but with peculiar reverence.

"So long as sensibility and gratitude," says an eminent writer, "are among the affections of the human heart, so long shall we honour with a supreme reverence those who have dared to die for their country, and, with an almost superstitious devotion,

> ——— 'Kiss with joy the sacred earth,
> Which gave a Hampden or a Russell birth.'"

The period of history in the work before us contains

many and important lessons to men of every age and country; it points out to the Englishman of the present day the alarming extent to which lofty ideas of prerogative and courtly notions have been carried; and, while it holds up to his admiration those brave heroes and patriots who made so firm and so successful a resistance to these arbitrary measures, must lead him to look with a jealous eye on the least tendency to similar encroachments in his own day: and on the other hand, these records serve as "landmarks to posterity," and contain a solemn warning to "those who may hereafter launch on the ocean of power, not to be too confident of an ever-prosperous gale, but to remember that there are rocks upon which whoever rushes will inevitably perish."

In the present day, when these good old constitutional principles, "for which Hampden fell in the field and Sidney died on the scaffold," which effected the glorious revolution of 1688, and which placed the illustrious House of Brunswick on the throne of these realms:—in this day, I repeat, when these enlightened and truly rational principles seem to be getting out of fashion, it is rendering an essential service to the cause of civil and religious liberty, to hold up a picture of the misery, oppression, and tyranny which the contrary principles have produced in former times. Such a picture the following work presents to our view, the value of which is enhanced by the excellent remarks on civil government with which it is accompanied, and the ardent spirit of religious liberty which breathes through the whole.

United with a detestation of superstition and hypocrisy, the writer in this tract manifests a sincere devotedness to genuine religion, and a just sense of the superintending providence of that Almighty Being who, in the convulsions of civil society, as well as in the system of nature,

"Rides on the whirlwind and directs the storm."

Its republication, therefore, will tend to do away with the absurd notion, that an ardent love of civil liberty is incompatible with piety and the Christian religion, and is necessarily accompanied with infidelity in belief or licentiousness in practice. The sacred writings, and the history of our own country, to the honour of human nature, furnish us with abundant proofs of the falsehood of this infamous supposition, by placing before us men, *who have been alike eminent for their hatred to tyranny, their ardent attachment to their country's freedom, and their sincere devotion to the cause of piety and virtue.*

The character of Charles I. (either from ignorance or design) has been greatly misrepresented, and is even at present but little understood: his afflictions towards the close of his life were indeed heavy; but while we pity and commiserate the misfortunes of the man, we must not forget the tyranny of the monarch. Facts are stubborn things, says a true though homely proverb; and while facts such as the following tract contains can be authenticated, we can never cease to consider Charles otherwise than an arbitrary tyrant, regardless of his solemn pledges, and indifferent to the rights and welfare of his people. We must therefore hail his downfall as a happiness for Britain, and an honour to the age in which he lived [1]. Ne-

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[1] This refers to the resistance made to Charles's illegal usurpations, and the depriving him of that power he had so palpably abused in destroying the rights and liberties of his countrymen; but it is not intended to applaud or even vindicate the means employed to put him to death. I know this resistance and this opposition is considered by many a rebellion, and is styled the great rebellion, even by some who applaud the revolution under William III., and justify the force made use of to accomplish it. "Strange!" says the Rev. Micajah Towgood, "that the English nation, who glory in their constitution as a limited monarchy, who have always been extremely jealous of any encroachments on it, and who dethroned by force of arms and banished the son (James II.) for less breaches of the constitution than were made by this unhappy father, should yet stigmatize that just war of the parliament with Charles I. with the odious name of a rebellion;—a war by which alone their expiring liberties were preserved, and

vertheless, it is gratifying to the candid and liberal mind to see the subject treated with the impartiality which the writer of this tract has evinced; he is not carried away by the blind fury of a partizan, who can discover nothing but praiseworthy actions on one side, and criminal conduct on the other: to quote his own words, "I have no reserves, I love a fair and open representation of things; I can see wickedness, tyranny, and a flagrant breach of trust on both sides; I will readily grant that the king had hard and cruel usage, that he was murthered, that he was destroyed by a faction! The constitution was now again trampled upon, the laws were violated; tyranny and a wicked military force usurped their room," &c.

It may be desirable to mention that some trifling inaccuracies have been rectified, and a few verbal alterations made in the following work, which however has been effected without changing either the connexion or original meaning of the writer; and in one or two instances, a digression has been omitted as being foreign to its subject. The reader will likewise perceive a strong feeling of asperity towards the papists; and though by no means applicable to the catholics of the present day, yet he should bear in mind that at the time it was written, this feeling was quite natural to

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their beloved constitution snatched from the cruel arm of oppressive and arbitrary power."

Allow me also to quote the Rev. John Watson, who says, "There is nothing more true than that the king (Charles I.) wanted to govern by an arbitrary power: his whole actions showed it, and he could never be brought to depart from this: either, therefore, his people must have submitted to the slavery, or they must have vindicated their freedom openly; there was no middle way. But should they have tamely received the yoke? No surely; for had they done so, they had deserved the worst of evils; and the bitter effects thereof, in all probability, had not only been derived to us but to our posterity. Happy Britons, that such a just and noble stand was made! May the memories of those great patriots that were concerned in it be ever dear to Englishmen; and to all *true* Englishmen they will."

every true lover of the English constitution. The papists of that period not only owned subjection to a foreign potentate (the pope), but were identified with a political party, whose principles and practices tended to enslave and ruin their country. The son of the Pretender had then recently laid claim to the British crown, and was hailed by the papists as the champion of their religious as well as political pretensions. Need we be surprised, then, that one ardently attached to the principles of the House of Brunswick should have a strong feeling of dislike to this party, who were struggling to eradicate those principles and to drive the present family from the throne!

Still, however justifiable such a feeling was at that period, it cannot in the least degree sanction persecution of the catholics in the present day. The Stuart race is now extinct; the rapid advance of general knowledge during the last century, while it has enlightened the public generally, has ameliorated the creed of the catholic; has led him to explode many of the errors of his forefathers[1]; and has taught the li-

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[1] It is not within the limits of a note to state all that can be said on this subject; but the following extracts may serve to prove the above assertion, and to convince those who regard the present generation of catholics with no friendly eye, how much their principles are slandered and misrepresented by the prejudices and ignorance of their countrymen. Those who wish for more information on this subject, will peruse with interest and instruction Butler's Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish and Scotch Catholics since the Reformation.

In the oath framed in 1778, and agreed by the catholics to be taken by all their body, the catholic says, "And I do swear, that I do reject and detest as an unchristian and impious position, that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of their being heretics; and also that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics: I further declare that it is no article of my faith; and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any authority of the see of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any person whatsoever. And I do declare that I do not believe that the pope of Rome, or any

beral protestant, that his neighbour is not a worse citizen, nor less deserving the protection and privileges

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other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly within this realm. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do make this declaration and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the pope or any authority of the see of Rome, or any person whatever, and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof; although the pope or any other persons or authority whatsoever shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null or void."

In reply to Mr. Pitt's Questions in 1788 to the foreign universities of Sorbonne, Louvaine, Douay, Alcala, and Salamanca, these universities answered unanimously:—

1. "That the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, has not nor have any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever within the realm of England.

2. "That the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, cannot absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever.

3. "That there is no principle in the tenets of the catholic faith by which catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transactions either of a public or a private nature."

From the protestation, signed by the four vicars apostolic, and by far the greater part of the catholic clergy and laity of any note in England, in 1788:—

"And we do solemnly declare, that neither the pope, with or without a general council, nor any prelate nor any priest, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatever, can absolve the subjects of this realm, or any of them, from their allegiance to his majesty king George III., who is by authority of parliament the lawful king of this realm and of all the dominions thereunto belonging."—"We have been accused of holding as a principle of our religion, that implicit obedience is due from us to the orders and decrees of popes and general councils, and that therefore if the pope or any general council should for the good of the church command us to take up arms against government, or by any means to subvert the laws and liberties of this country, or to exterminate persons of a different persuasion from us, we (it is asserted by our accusers) hold ourselves bound to obey such orders or decrees on pain of eternal fire. Whereas

of civil society, because he sees fit to worship their common Creator with different forms and different

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we positively deny that we hold any such obedience to the pope and general council, or to either of them; and we believe that no act that is in itself immoral or dishonest can ever be justified by or under colour that it is done either for the good of the church or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatever. *We acknowledge no infallibility in the pope*, and we neither apprehend nor believe that our disobedience to any such orders or decrees (should any such be given or made) could subject us to any punishment whatever. And we hold and insist, that the catholic church has no power that can directly or indirectly prejudice the rights of protestants, inasmuch as it is strictly confined to the refusing to them a participation in her sacraments and other religious privileges of her communion, which no church (as we conceive) can be expected to give to those out of her pale, and which no person out of her pale will, we suppose, ever require. And we do solemnly declare that no church, nor any prelate, nor any priest, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatever, hath, have, or ought to have any jurisdiction or authority whatsoever within this realm, that can directly or indirectly affect or interfere with the independence, sovereignty, laws, constitution, or government thereof, or the rights, liberties, persons, or properties of the people of the said realm, or of any of them, save only and except by the authority of parliament, and that any such assumption of power would be an usurpation."

"We do solemnly declare that neither the pope, nor any prelate, nor any priest, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatever can absolve us or any of us from, or dispense with, the obligations of any oath or compact whatsoever."

"We believe that no sin whatever can be forgiven at the will of any pope, or of any priest, or of any person whomsoever; but that a sincere sorrow for past sin, a firm resolution to avoid future guilt, and every possible atonement to God and the injured neighbour, are the previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well founded expectation of forgiveness."

"The doctrine that faith is not to be kept with heretics, we reject, reprobate, and abhor, as being contrary to religion, morality, and common honesty; and we do hold and solemnly declare, that no breach of faith with any person whomsoever can ever be justified by reason of, or under pretence, that such person is an heretic or infidel; and we further solemnly declare, that we do make this declaration and protestation, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of the same, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever."

See also the oath taken by the catholics in 1791.

The Earl of Liverpool (an opponent of catholic emancipation) in his speech of 1810, on this subject, says, (in reference to the

ideas to those which the protestant has adopted for himself. Since, then, the political attachments and religious connexions of the present generation of catholics differ so materially from those of their bigoted ancestors, the editor trusts no uncharitable feeling may be revived against the former, by holding up to the detestation of posterity the principles and practices of the latter.

The conduct of Charles I. in protecting and patronizing the papists, and in making the religious sacrifices to which he bound himself by his marriage treaty, was

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noxious principles imputed to the catholics on civil subjects) "I have heard allusions made this night to doctrines which I do hope no man now believes the catholics to entertain, nor is there any ground for an opinion that the question is opposed on any such pretence. The explanations which have been given on this head, so far as I know, are completely satisfactory, and the question as it now stands is much more narrowed than it was on a former discussion."

From Mr. Butler's Address to his Protestant Countrymen in 1817:—

"We" (*i. e.* the English catholics) "now solemnly appeal to our friends and neighbours—to all who are acquainted with us in the ordinary intercourse of life, whether they have found us deficient in the discharge of domestic duties, in offices of friendship, in the exercise of benevolence or hospitality, or in any of those charities of life that bind man to man and endear human beings to each other. We solemnly appeal to the enlightened statesmen of both houses of parliament, whether the penal code, remaining in force against us, be not in direct opposition to that general spirit of comprehension and humanity which breathes through the laws,—which is the soul of the constitution,—and which gives to genius, talents, valour, industry, and labour, equal openings to exertions, equal chances of rewards.

"We have solemnly protested and again solemnly protest against all intemperate language, all rancorous and illiberal invective, all harsh and insulting expressions. *We bear no animosity to individuals of any communion, sect, or party; we embrace all our countrymen and fellow-subjects as friends and brethren; and most sincerely do we wish to see all united in the participation of every right and every blessing which we solicit for ourselves.*"

Such is the language of an English catholic in the name of his catholic brethren, language worthy of the most enlightened protestant of the most enlightened times, and with such language I am happy to conclude these remarks.

was certainly criminal, because it was at direct variance with his most solemn assertions and promises; because it was in complete opposition to the laws of the land at that period; and because it necessarily introduced the doctrine, that the king's will was superior to the laws;—a doctrine subversive of the dearest rights and the brightest privileges of Englishmen.

In order to form a correct opinion of the character of Charles, it is highly requisite that we observe this protection and support which he afforded the papist religion. For this he gave up the esteem and affection of his people; for this he forfeited his honour and abandoned his promises; and this no doubt was a principal cause of his subsequent misfortunes. With these facts before him, and a knowledge of the church sacrifices Charles offered to make the presbyterian party when he found them too strong for him; can any rational person seriously believe that he died a martyr for the church of England? No! he died a martyr to his own duplicity [1] and obstinacy, to his absurd ideas of prerogative; and his tyrannical attempts to overturn the constitution, the liberties and privileges of Britain.

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[1] Much insight may be obtained into Charles's real character by knowing the fact, that in the decline of his power, while treating with the army and privately stipulating with Cromwell for his return to sovereignty, he could write his queen "That though he assented to the army's proposals, if by assenting to them he could procure peace, it would be easier then to take off Cromwell than now he was the head that governed the army." Is this the "*blessed martyr*," the *good*, the *pious*, the *most religious* king, who could outwardly assent to proposals, which by his own acknowledgement he meant to abide by only so long as suited his purpose, and be indebted to the very man whose life he was looking forward to have taken away by private assassination? Strange that the consequences of his past insincerity and double dealing, and a discipline of many years adversity, had not taught Charles the virtues of sincerity and uprightness. "This letter," says Coke, "was intercepted by Cromwell, who thereupon resolved to ruin the king." To whatever then Charles fell a martyr besides, this one thing is certain, that he fell a martyr to his own duplicity. See also Appendix.

It is gratifying to the true lover of his country to turn from the view of those political conflicts, which have at various periods agitated England, and to contemplate amid these apparently unfavourable circumstances, the gradual advance of the English constitution. Though buried for ages beneath the rubbish of feudal tyranny, yet in the frequent dissentions between the king and the barons, we may discover it emerging from obscurity; and though thrown back to suit the views of a despotic court, or impelled too much forward by the re-action of an oppressed people, yet gradually recovering its natural tone, till the glorious revolution matured its strength, improved its value, and seated it on the firm basis of individual security and public prosperity. Then indeed may we say the day-star of rational freedom arose in our political horizon; and I trust will shine more and more unto that perfect day, when the spirit of our divine religion shall be transfused into our statute-books, and the commandments of our Saviour be recognised as the laws of nations.

That the revival of this little work may be a means of promoting this happy period, by its tendency to explode injurious error and disseminate principles fraught with patriotism and philanthropy, is the heartfelt hope of

THE EDITOR.

London, Feb. 1821.

TO THE[1]

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

BENJAMIN,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.[2]

MY LORD,

WILLIAM GLANVILLE, Esq., one of the chief clerks of the treasury, left your lordship a legacy in his last will; and a few hours before his death was pleased to assign the following reasons for it.

"As to the legacy I have given to the Lord Bishop of Bangor, I declare the same to be in testimony of the respect I bear him, in defending the liberty of his country, and for his love to mankind, and for his endeavouring to free religion from superstition and tyranny, (which worldly interest and ambition have blended with it) and to restore it to that simplicity and usefulness which was the design of its blessed Author: for which his labour of love, he has justly merited the esteem and regard of all good men, instead of that load of infamy and scandal which the passions of designing men have so maliciously and uncharitably thrown upon him.

"WILLIAM GLANVILLE."

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[1] The original dedication is preserved for its intrinsic worth, the truly English and Christian spirit which it breathes, and as it contains just encomiums on a really excellent and worthy character.

[2] Better known by the name of Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor.

Here your lordship and the world see the real sentiments of a gentleman of great honour, sense, and virtue, at a time of the strictest sincerity. And I beg leave publicly to declare, that I have no other reason in the world for affixing your great and venerable name to the following papers, than those assigned by the worthy gentleman above mentioned; being utterly unbiassed by any such motives as usually produce dedications to great men. And I persuade myself, it cannot be unacceptable to your lordship to be the patron of a book, the only design of which is to serve and vindicate the civil and religious liberties of mankind.

And here, according to the usual style and purpose of dedications, it may be expected I should launch out into a panegyric on your great and excellent qualities; and, indeed, being a lay-man and having not the least dependance on your lordship, I might in that case be presumed to speak to you, and of you, with the freedom of an indifferent man, and without risking that censure which is so generally incurred by dedicators. But the exhibiting your lordship's amiable character requires an abler pen; it is a subject too nice and delicate for me to attempt: besides, it can receive no advantage from any private man, as it stands immoveably fixed, beyond the reach of party or of faction, on records that will remain until time shall be no more.

Your lordship, at your first setting out in the world, was pleased to lay aside the unintelligible jargon of the schools, in matters of religion, and to declare openly and freely in favour of the New Testament and common sense.

And as to matters of government, you ever appeared a strenuous asserter of those noble principles, whereby the revolution was brought about, under the late King William, whose memory will be always dear to every Briton that has the least regard for honesty, reason, or justice. Those religious and political principles your lordship was pleased to defend and maintain, by argu-

ments founded on truth and superior to all the wicked sophistry of your adversaries.

This generous and truly English behaviour could not fail of procuring your lordship the esteem and regard of every wise and honest man in the three kingdoms; at the same time that it subjected you to an infamous persecution by vast numbers even of your own holy vocation: they loaded you with scandal and reproach, and by their malicious and envenomed pens treated you without the least regard to truth or modesty.

When mercenary scribblers are employed by a party, to vent their malice, it may be fit to leave them to the course of common justice; but here the trumpet was sounded in Sion, the pulpit gave the alarm, those who professed themselves ambassadors of peace breathed nothing but war; they attacked you with unappeasable fury, but covered their outrage with the specious names of *loyalty*, *religion*, and the *church*, whereby the deluded populace were drawn to enlist under their banners, in contradiction to their own most valuable rights both as Men and Christians.

This, my lord, was the case with respect to you, and to those truly rational and even divine principles you so bravely defended, when the high court of parliament thought it necessary to interpose in favour of your lordship; whom, with surprise and astonishment, they saw thus iniquitously persecuted by many reverend doctors and dignitaries, and for no other reason than for your open and hearty attachment to our religion, laws and government.

This illustrious assembly determined, by a public act, to testify to the sovereign, and to the whole nation, their resentment of your ill usage, and the sense they had of your extraordinary merit. For this purpose, a motion was made by the ingenious Anthony Henly, esq.; and, after a short debate, the house came to the following resolution:

"That the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Hoadley, rector

of St. Peter's Poor, London, for having strenuously justified the principles on which her majesty[1] and the nation proceeded, in the late happy revolution, had justly merited the favour of this house; and that an humble address be presented to her majesty, that she would be graciously pleased to bestow some dignity in the church on the said Mr. Hoadley, for his eminent services in the church and state."

The queen's answer was:

"I will take a proper opportunity to comply with your request."

Every true Englishman rejoiced at this vote; and the more so, from a persuasion that your enemies would never be so insolent as to attack you again, and set themselves in opposition to the sense of the nation.

A greater honour your lordship could never have received, as it was the approbation of your country, declared by its representatives, one of the most august assemblies upon earth, and which will remain, in the records thereof, an eternal monument to your renown; —a monument, more glorious and lasting than pillars of marble or triumphal arches!

For some time after this your lordship had a respite from your ecclesiastical adversaries: it seemed as if they were thunder-struck by this noble resolution. However, it was not long before these disturbers of our peace, these sworn enemies of British liberty, received a fresh provocation in a sermon, preached before the king[2] at St. James's, and published by his special command, entitled, "The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ." Herein you had proved, beyond all reasonable contradiction, that Christ's kingdom was not of this world; a doctrine new and surprising, even to the greatest part of the clergy. What now could your lordship expect but judgment without mercy! It was a crime of such a nature as never to be forgiven.

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[1] Queen Anne. [2] George I.

To be told that Christ's kingdom did not consist in mitres, lordships, deaneries, vestments, ceremonies, spiritual courts, absolutions, persecutions, &c. &c. &c. It was next to the sin against the Holy Ghost, and for which your adversaries will never forgive you either in this world or the next.

Here your enemies lost all patience; and, instead of reason and argument, discharged against you their whole artillery of affronts and indignities; notwithstanding the greatest and best men in the kingdom acknowledged that your lordship's principles, both civil and religious, were for the benefit of human society, agreeable to the natural rights of mankind, and perfectly consistent with the New Testament, the reformation, and the church of England.

Your lordship's enemies did not intend things should stop here. The lower house of convocation appointed a committee, consisting of Dr. Moss, Dr. Sherlocke, Dr. Friend, Dr. Spratt, Dr. Cannon, and Dr. Byse, to draw up a representation, to be laid before the upper house, concerning several dangerous positions advanced by your lordship, at that time bishop of Bangor; which representation was approved of by the lower house, and was voted, to be entered on their books, *nemine contradicente*. The attention of the public was again engaged, and persons of the highest rank were extremely solicitous for your protection.

And here, also, your lordship had the honour to have one of the best, the wisest, and bravest men that ever the world produced, appear in your behalf;—I mean the late King George [1], who was graciously pleased, by his royal writ to the archbishop of Canterbury, to prorogue the convocation, whereby the designs of your enemies were at once defeated. A noble instance of royal justice and paternal affection to his subjects! A strange phænomenon in the political world! A monarch

[1] George I.

exerting himself in defence of his subjects' liberties, which multitudes of themselves were eager to betray! An example highly deserving the imitation of every sovereign, but hardly to be paralleled. His generous soul was influenced by all those sentiments of humanity and compassion, with which Christianity never fails to inspire its real votaries. He could not forbear, voluntarily and unasked, to interpose in behalf of an innocent and abused subject. This single instance of his royal virtue will ever be recorded in the British annals, to his immortal honour; for which generations to come will call him blessed.

I cannot conclude without taking some notice of a late honest performance [1] of your lordship's, which has again drawn upon you the unjust attacks of the bigots of all parties. Your lordship could expect nothing less; its natural design and tendency being to beat down mystery, bigotry, superstition, and nonsense, which have been for so many ages the grand support of the sacerdotal empire. What wonder, then, if your lordship sustained a fresh torrent of abuse on this occasion! I have read many of the answers to this valuable treatise, but have found none of them meriting your lordship's observation. In opposition to all these exertions of scurrility, I could produce, if it were necessary, the sentiments of the best and greatest men that the present age has produced, in favour of your lordship's character and principles. But I shall content myself with what the learned and pious Dr. Tennison was pleased to advance, in his protest against the report of the convocation, in the case of your lordship. I have read it often, and never without a secret pleasure. It breathes forth nothing but piety, charity, and New Testament religion:—"Being persuaded in my own mind, that the word of God is the only sufficient foundation upon which a true protestant can build his

[1] The Plain Account.

religion, and that the doctrines contained in the bishop's sermon, preached before his majesty, on Sunday the 31st of March, 1717, and published by his majesty's special command, are true protestant doctrines, and so perfectly agreeable to the word of God, revealed to us in the Bible, that there seems no just cause for the complaints made against them—which complaints probably would never have been thought of, had not some men, whilst they were making open professions of their loyal intentions, secretly designed to cast a blot and contempt on the regal authority; and under a plausible pretence of doing service to the church, laid hold of an opportunity of shewing their personal hatred and resentment against the Bishop.

"Subscribed 14th Feb. $17\frac{17}{18}$.

"Edward Tennison."

Much about the same time, that true Englishman and famous orator, Mr. Lechmere, was pleased to make very honourable mention of your lordship in the house of commons, and called you a strenuous and worthy champion of the revolution and protestant succession.

Our blessed Saviour, when upon earth, foresaw the various persecutions that would befall his saints and followers; and for their support and encouragement he pronounces them blessed.—"Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." And again, "Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven, for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you,"—Matt. v. 10. 12. But I shall say no more, only with the utmost submission let me entreat your lordship not to be dismayed, but to go on with that important work in which you have been engaged, and for which you are so admirably qualified. Consider, Sir, it is the glory of God, the honour and support of his Son's interest and religion upon earth, that you have so zealously defended; a religion extremely useful to civil

society, and admirably adapted to make mankind happy, here and hereafter.

And now of Almighty God I earnestly beg, that he would never leave you, but constantly vouchsafe you large and ample communications of the gifts and graces of his most holy Spirit; and when you shall have done with mortal things, and shall stand on the brink of the grave, just ready to step into eternity, may you then enjoy a noble firmness and serenity of mind; may all be quiet and harmonious within—may you then experimentally know what it is to enjoy that peace of God that passeth all understanding—and may the end of all be to you everlasting peace and felicity. This, my lord, is the sincere desire and prayer of

Your lordship's

Most humble and

Most obedient servant.

A LETTER

TO

A CLERGYMAN, &c.

REVEREND SIR,

It is not out of vanity, lucre, or party, that I now sit down to make some remarks on your late very extraordinary sermon. I must confess I have read some other notable ones, and heard many more, on this occasion, but none so deserving of public contempt and censure.

I know of nothing more repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, than for one, professing to preach it, to set up for the champion of a party; since parties are for the most part influenced by motives mean and brutal, inconsistent with that unalterable regard to truth and justice, to which all men and all parties have an inviolable claim.

I hope you will not be offended if, in this address, I speak my sentiments plainly. And though I shall not fail of doing so, yet, notwithstanding the provocation you have given, my intention is to treat you with the civility due to your function, without passion or personal reproach. And if you are not very much prejudiced by a blind and furious zeal, I persuade myself I shall in some degree enlighten your understanding and awaken your conscience; not by falsehood and disguises, but by facts, facts that are incontestable and that will argue for themselves.

It would take up too much of my time to enter upon all the particular falsities, absurdities, and fallacious reasonings of which your sermon was made up. I shall only offer the following general remarks to your consideration; entreating you to peruse them calmly, without any party spirit, divested of all prejudice and partiality, with a temper and disposition of mind becoming a gentleman and a scholar, always determined to submit to the force of truth and evidence; and then your own conscience will presently suggest to you, that your whole sermon was a manifest contradiction to the religion, laws, government, and true history of your country.

The exalted character you was pleased to give of King Charles the First, made a very considerable part of your discourse. I must acknowledge it was speciously drawn, and delivered with an engaging elocution and emphasis; but it had this unlucky circumstance attending it, that the picture had no affinity with the original: light and darkness, heaven and hell, could not possibly be more opposite to each other, than your portrait was to the real character of that unhappy prince. Therefore permit me, Sir, in my turn, to give you his true and genuine character; which, at this distance of time, can only be done by an impartial recital of the most considerable and important actions of his life.

During the minority of this prince he was looked on, by all that knew him, to be of a most obstinate disposition. His mother greatly lamented his unhappy turn of mind, and was heard to say of him in public, that "she feared he would live to be the ruin of himself, and occasion the loss of his three kingdoms by his obstinacy." Soon after he came to the throne he married a French papist, by a dispensation from the pope and according to the ceremonies of the church of Rome. She was not only a papist, but in a remarkable manner attached to all the fopperies and most absurd practices

of that church. By the articles of this marriage, many liberties were granted to the papists. A chapel was permitted to be built at Somerset-house, where there was likewise established a convent of Capuchin friars, who, together with a great number of priests and jesuits, walked the streets in their habits, in such a manner as had never been allowed since the reformation. The king wrote to the pope with the title of Most Holy Father.

All the honest and wise part of the nation was greatly alarmed at this match, fearing it would again bring us back to the slavery and bondage of Rome. King Charles the First was a staunch bigot, and consequently the darling of the clergy; and having no great reach of his own was governed by his priests, who have been always unfortunate when they meddle in politics. His whole reign was one continued series of follies, or infringements of the rights of his subjects. He lived in the constant and open violation of the fundamental laws of the realm, and conducted every thing to the dishonour and reproach of the English nation.—But to descend to particulars.

He agreed with the Marquis D'Effiat, the French minister, for a squadron of men-of-war, to join the French fleet at Dieppe, which was fitting out against the protestants at Rochelle; thereby to destroy at once all the remaining strength of the reformed in that kingdom. The command of this squadron was given to captain Pennington, whom he strictly enjoyned, that in case his ships should refuse to join the French in this vile expedition, he should use all forcible means to compel them, even to the sinking them if they continued obstinate:—that was, to destroy the English, his own people, if they would not destroy the French protestants.

This conduct appears by far the more wicked and astonishing, as the king a little before had wrote two letters, signed Charles Rex, to the peers, burghers, and

inhabitants of the city of Rochelle, engaging to assist them to the utmost. In the first letter he says, "My fleet shall perish rather than you shall not be relieved." In the second, "Be assured I will never abandon you, and that I will employ all the force of my kingdom for your deliverance."

When the parliament came afterwards to examine Pennington's papers, they found a letter from the king, signed Charles Rex, "requiring him to dispose of those ships as he should be directed by the French king, and to sink or fire such as should refuse to obey those orders."

On this proceeding, General Ludlow has this plain remark:—"By this horrible treachery the strong town of Rochelle, wherein the security of the protestants of France chiefly consisted, was delivered up to the papists; and those of the reformed religion in all parts of the kingdom exposed to the rage of their cruel and bloody enemies[1]. Again: King James was strongly bent to render himself absolute; yet he chose rather to carry on that design by fraud than violence; but King Charles, immediately after his accession to the throne, pulled off the mask, and openly discovered his intention to make the crown absolute and independent; and the queen, on her part, pressed him on all occasions to pursue the design of enlarging his power, and to mould the church of England to a nearer compliance to the see of Rome." At the same time this prince sent a declaration to the lord-keeper, for granting full liberty and toleration to all papists, notwithstanding the extreme rigour of the then laws against them. Upon some of the privy council advising him against this illegal step, he openly replied, "That it was his will those laws should all stand discharged."

Thus, almost in the first month of his reign, he set up a despotic power against the constitution. He grant-

[1] Memoirs, vol. i. p. 5.

ed a general pardon to all papists under prosecution; not only as papists, but as criminals. He released twenty priests from gaol. And it now evidently appeared, that he intended to rule and govern all by absolute will and pleasure.

The parliament began to be greatly alarmed by these measures, and protested in form against them. They remonstrated,

1. His protecting a seditious, virulent, and ignorant priest, Richard Montague, in opposition to the sense of the parliament.

2. The great increase and countenancing of popery, by dispensing with all the laws against it, in an arbitrary manner.

3. The war against Spain without a declaration, and the sending to destroy the protestants of Rochelle.

4. The total mis-employment of three subsidies and three fifteenths. With many other enormities too tedious to relate.

This Montague wrote a book, entitled *Apello Cæsarem*, wherein he advanced the following positions:

1. That the church of Rome is, and ever was, a true church.

2. That images might be used to excite devotion.

3. That saints have patronage, custody, protection, and power, over certain persons and things, as the angels have.

This book gave great offence unto all true protestants. The parliament condemned it, and summoned Montague to attend at their bar, and voted his book to be contrary to the articles established by parliament, to tend to the king's dishonour and the disturbance of the church; and obliged him to enter into a bond of 2000*l.* to appear again on the next summons.

However, notwithstanding this book was so publicly condemned by the parliament, as well as by the general voice and suffrage of the kingdom, yet at court it met with applause and high encomiums; and the au-

thor was rewarded with the bishoprick of Chichester, and soon after was translated to Norwich. Whereby the king again openly declared his encouragement of popery; and that whoever, in contempt of the parliament and constitution of England, would assert a despotic power in church and state might expect to be rewarded.

Thus, in the beginning of his reign, he lost the hearts and affections of a great part of his subjects. What contributed to increase the general murmuring and discontent, was his illegal and arbitrary treatment of a great number of leading men of both houses of parliament. Sir John Elliot, a famous speaker in the house of commons, was committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse, with many others. The pretence was, for undutiful speech. The commons passed a vote to vindicate all their members at once, declaring that there had been no undutiful speech in that house from the beginning of the parliament to that day. Sir Dudley Diggs, another top speaker in the house of commons, was hurried away to the Tower, under the pretence also of undutiful speech, at a late public conference with the lords. This gentleman protested with the utmost solemnity that he never spoke the words he was charged with, and that no such words ever came into his thoughts; and what is more, (merely out of regard to common justice) thirty-six of the lords, who stood close by him at the time of the said conference, entered into a voluntary protestation, subscribing their names to it, *viz.* That the said Sir Dudley Diggs did not speak those words, nor any words that did or might trench on the king's honour. Some of the lords who protested were,

Earl of Mulgrave,	Earl of Clare,
Earl of Cleveland,	Earl of Denbigh,
Earl of Westmoreland,	Earl of Lincoln,
Earl of Bullingbrook,	Earl of Essex,

Earl of Cambridge,	Earl of Bridgewater,
Earl of Devon,	Earl of Montgomery,
Earl of Warwick,	Earl of Nottingham,
Earl of Northampton,	Earl of Herford [1].

Notwithstanding this public attestation of his innocence by so many peers, to the Tower he must go, right or wrong. Innocence in those days was no security.

All this was done contrary to the opinion of the Judges, who declared, That such a violent restraint on so many members, was a public arrest on the whole body of parliament.

The king, by a message to the Earls of Bristol and Arundell, forbad them to attend the house of lords, and soon after committed the latter to the Tower. This made a mighty ferment. All the peers began now to look on their persons and estates to be in great danger.—They petitioned his majesty in a submissive manner, humbly beseeching "That the Earl of Arundell, a member of their house, might be restored to them again; and that the same regard might be had to the rights and privilege of the peers as had ever been."

The king gave a rough answer and would not discharge him. This produced a long and well-penned remonstrance. The lords exerted themselves on this occasion with a becoming spirit; they petitioned the king again and again, five different times, and came to the following remarkable resolution, *nemine contradicente:* "That no lord of parliament, the parliament sitting, or within the usual time of the privilege of parliament, is to be imprisoned or restrained without sentence or order of the house, unless it be for treason or felony, or for refusing to give security for the peace; and that, *unâ voce*, this is the undoubted right of the peers [2]."

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[1] Rushworth, p. 361. [2] Ibid. p. 365.

Things continued for a considerable time in this situation; the king committing many of the house of commons, and daily breaking in upon those rights and privileges of the house of lords, which for a long time had been held sacred and inviolable, till at last he grew tired with frequent petitions and remonstrances of both houses in vindication of their just and legal rights; wherefore, the better to establish his absolute power and dominion over the lives and properties of his subjects, he determined to have no parliament at all, and sent a message to the house of lords signifying his intention to dissolve the parliament, then sitting, instantly.

This alarmed both houses more than any thing that had yet happened, and they were under terrible apprehensions of the consequences that might ensue such a peremptory and sudden dissolution at so critical a juncture.

The lords, the same morning, sent a petition to the king, affirming, "That they were really and truly his most faithful and loyal subjects; and that as they were also his majesty's hereditary council of the kingdom, they were obliged, by the duty they owed to God, his majesty, and their country, humbly to offer their advice, that the parliament may be continued for some time longer, whereby great and apparent dangers may be prevented, and his majesty made happy in the duty and love of his people." This honest and memorable petition was delivered by the Lord Viscount Mandeville; the Earl of Manchester, lord-president of his majesty's council; the Earl of Pembroke; the Earl of Carlisle; and the Earl of Holland. The king returned for answer, "That he would hear no motion, but would dissolve the parliament and immediately cause a commission to pass the great seal for that purpose [1]."

But the king would not stop here; for, the day fol-

[1] Rushworth, p. 398.

lowing, warrants were directed from the privy-council to apprehend several members of parliament, as Denzil Hollis, Esq.; Sir Miles Hobert; Sir Peter Hayman; John Selden, Esq.; Corrington, Long, Stroud, Valentine, and some others; all leading men in the house of commons. Most of them were apprehended and committed close prisoners to the Tower.

Having in so unprecedented a way dissolved this parliament, and calling no other during the twelve following years, he in that long period governed as arbitrarily as the grand signior, and in a manner subversive of all the laws and constitution of this realm. In the first seven years of this time he published no less than one hundred and forty-six proclamations; the chief design of which was to raise money without consent or authority of parliament, under the denomination of conduct-money, tonnage, poundage, ship-money, &c. &c.

Great numbers amongst the nobility and principal gentry, who had hitherto adhered to the king, began daily to fall off and to desert the court. Nothing was heard of but grievances and remonstrances; and persons of great note began publicly to declare that the government was illegal and arbitrary, and that the constitution was actually destroyed. Many about the king had the honesty and courage to point out to him the unavoidable consequences of those wicked and violent measures. Sir Robert Cotton repeatedly told him in council, That whatever reasons may be given for it, the nation would not bear the levying money without consent of parliament: and that every tax not authorized thereby, was breaking in upon the constitution, and esteemed by the people of England as an act of tyranny and imposing of servitude.

This wise and prudent advice did not suit the temper of King Charles: he had nothing in his head or heart but absolute rule and government.

I may here remark, that the mischiefs and misery of this reign, must, in some measure, be imputed to that

haughty ecclesiastic Archbishop Laud, and his creatures. They dissuaded the king from all moderate measures, and pretended that by their authority and influence they would greatly promote his design of plundering his subjects (which is certainly done when their money is taken by force, without law and consent of parliament); and, to do them justice, they laboured it heartily.

One Sibthorp, in an assize sermon preached at Northampton, undertook to prove out of the Scriptures, "That kings might impose taxes without consent of parliament, and that the people were bound in conscience to obey their will and pleasure." Manwaring, another parasitical priest, in a sermon asserted, that "The king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subjects' rights and liberties, and that his royal will, in imposing taxes without consent of parliament, binds his subjects on pain of damnation; and that those who refuse to pay the loans offend God, and become guilty of disloyalty and rebellion[1]." This wretched sycophant, instead of being punished for this wicked and impious doctrine, was rewarded with a bishoprick. All the sermons now at court were to the same purpose. Ludlow tells us, "This was the only work of which the clergy were judged capable; and therefore divers of them entered the list as champions of the prerogative, asserting that the possessions and estates of the subject did of right belong to the king, and that he might dispose of them at his pleasure; thereby annulling, as much as in them lay, all the laws of England that secure property to the people[2]."

But the king soon found that the clergy might continue their preaching to eternity, without bringing any money into the exchequer, and therefore more violent methods were taken. He began with imprisoning a great number of the first rank and quality, as well as

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[1] See Appendix. [2] Vol. i. p. 5.

many eminent merchants and traders in London and elsewhere, for refusing to pay those illegal taxes.

Sir Thomas Grantham,	Sir William Chancey,
Sir John Strangewayes,	Sir William Massan,
Sir William Armin,	Sir Erasmus Draiton,
Sir William Wilmore,	Sir Nath. Barnardiston,
Sir Robert Poyntz,	Sir Beachan St. John,
Sir Oliver Luke,	Sir Morris Berkley,
Sir Thomas Wentworth,	Sir John Wray,
Sir William Constable,	Sir John Hotham,
Sir John Pickering,	Sir Francis Barrington.

I could mention many other knights, as well as esquires, gentlemen, and a multitude of the most eminent merchants and traders of the city of London, who were committed prisoners to the Fleet, the Gatehouse, the Marshalsea, and the New-prison, many of them to the entire ruin of themselves and families, for no other reason but their refusing the loan as it was absurdly called; for with what propriety could it be so termed, when penalties were inflicted on those who would not pay it[1]?

Bishop Burnet, speaking of King Charles the First, says, "That by his illegal administration he had brought himself into great distress, but had not the dexterity to extricate himself out of it; and that he loved high and rough methods, but had neither skill nor genius to conduct them; he hated all that offered prudent and moderate counsels; and in his outward deportment never took any pains to oblige any one[2]." A true picture! Acherley, the famous lawyer, tells us, "The king's ministers gave themselves over to licentiousness and wanton acts of power, thinking themselves now freed from parliamentary inquisitions, and

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[1] Vide Rushworth's Collection, p. 473.
[2] Hist. of his Own Times, vol. i.

above the reach of ordinary justice; proclamations supplied the defects of law; tonnage and poundage, and other impositions, were collected by order of council; freedom of speech was in a manner extinguished. Sir John Elliot was condemned and fined two thousand pounds; Denzil Hollis one thousand marks, Valentine five hundred, (all leading men in the house of commons) and were imprisoned till they should pay the fines[1]: which imprisonment was accompanied with some arbitrary severities; for those gentlemen were denied not only pen, ink, and paper, but in their sicknesses their wives were denied admittance, insomuch that Sir John Elliot, after many years imprisonment, sunk and died under the oppression. But those prosecutions and condemnations, being a wound to the two estates of the lords and commons, in their tenderest privilege, and having raised great discontents, were, in the reign of King Charles the Second, reversed and unanimously declared illegal. In which reversal, those prosecutions and imprisonments, and the power of ministers, by which the privileges of parliament and all the commons of England were trampled under foot, appear to this day in colours administring a detestation of such proceedings[2]."

Were it necessary, I could mention a hundred flagrant instances more to prove that the government of King Charles the First, for many years, was illegal,

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[1] "This judgement was declared afterwards by the parliament, in 1641, to be against law and privilege of parliament; and very handsome sums were ordered to be paid out of the public money to the confessors for public liberty. But, by a strain of generosity uncommon, Mr. Hollis refused the 5,000*l.* voted him, and said he would not receive a penny till the public debts were paid. He only received 1,000 marks fine imposed on him, which he had laid down in ready money, and this only because his whole estate had been kept from him in the west for three years. Some of the other gentlemen refused to receive what was given them. It were to be wished (all) our modern patriots inherited a like public spirit."—*Harris's Life of Charles I.*

[2] P. 360.

arbitrary, and tyrannical, and that the constitution was actually subverted and destroyed.

The king began now to look upon himself as secure, and to imagine that by his barbarous usage of so many persons of rank and quality, all others would be deterred from appearing openly for their religion, laws, and liberties.

"The prerogative," says Ludlow, "was now wound up to a great height in England, and the affairs of the church tending to a conjunction with the see of Rome. But before any further progress was made, it was thought expedient that the pulse of Scotland should be felt. To this end, a form of public prayer was sent them, more nearly approaching the Roman office than that used in England.—The nobility, clergy, and gentry, were discontented with the book itself, as well as the manner of imposing it. The clergy of England, who had been the chief advisers and promoters of this violence, prevailed on the king to cause all the Scots to be declared traitors; and they were not wanting to promote the new levies against the Scots, contributing largely thereto; which was but reasonable, it being manifest to all that the clergy were the principal authors and fomenters of those troubles[1]."

This war with the Scots was looked upon by the nobility, gentry, and commonalty of England, as the most imprudent that could be. And indeed the king himself soon found it to be so; the very officers and soldiers of the army treating it with contempt and ridicule; insomuch, that he was quickly obliged to come to an agreement with the Scots upon terms no way to his honour or advantage.

"The most profitable preferments in the English church were now given to those of the clergy who were most forward to promote the new ceremonies and superstitions. An oath was enjoined with an &c. Several

[1] Ludlow, vol. i. p. 6, 7, 8.

holidays were introduced, and required to be observed by the people with all possible solemnity; patents and monopolies of almost every thing were granted to private men, to the great damage of the public; knighthood, coat and conduct money, and many other illegal methods were revived and put in execution to rob the people, in order to support the profusion of the court[1]."

Things went on for a considerable time pretty favourably to the court. By their violence and tyranny they carried all before them, and seemed to bid fair to obtain a complete victory over all the laws of the kingdom, as well as over the lives and properties of the subjects. But fresh troubles began now to arise. The city of London grew more and more disgusted at the granting monopolies and patents, and at the unparliamentary raising, as well as the violent methods daily practised in collecting several illegal taxes; insomuch, that a very great number of citizens of rank and figure at once refused to pay several of the loans; at the same time declaring, they would pay no taxes at all without the consent and authority of parliament.

This was a dreadful shock to the court; they gave it the name of rebellion, and determined to put an end to it at once. An order was issued to take away the sword from the lord-mayor, and most of the chief officers of the city were instantly imprisoned. Hereupon the people rose and beset the house of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, who was supposed to put the king on those violent courses; they demolished his grace's windows, but he made his escape for that time by water. Most of the counties in England began now to send up to the privy-council, petitions and remonstrances, complaining of the illegal taxes and the violent methods of collecting them, which gave birth to many troublesome and vexatious law-suits: and notwithstanding in those suits the subjects frequently got

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[1] Ludlow, vol. i. p. 5.

the better of the crown, yet it many times ended in their ruin.

The court now found it necessary to tamper with most of the great lawyers. Some of the Judges and lawyers took the bait, and for the sake of some temporary preferment became open and public traitors to their country, by declaring in Westminster-hall for law, "That the king might impose taxes upon the people, and that he might imprison and distrain in case of refusal."

But to do justice to the lawyers, I must acknowledge that the far greater part of them were, in reality, friends to the constitution. They discovered a true English spirit, and gladly embraced every opportunity to support the rights and liberties of the subjects, to the great mortification of the king and Laud.

This firm behaviour of the lawyers put the court on making another dreadful attack on the lives and properties of the subject. For, finding they could not corrupt the common courts of justice to that degree they aimed at, they created or revived arbitrary courts, as the star-chamber and high commission courts, wherein monstrous cruelties were daily committed, even on persons of high rank, quality, and learning.

The practice of those courts was much a-kin to that of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal. Laud presided in both of them. His power and influence were so great, that every thing done there was esteemed as his particular act and deed. The other members were, as Bishop Burnet observes, "Little more than mere machines, to move and act as this godly prelate directed." And truly they judged right in putting this ecclesiastic at the head of those courts, as nothing was intended but fines, imprisonments, cutting off ears, slitting up noses, and other such bloody work: witness the horrid barbarity practised on the learned William Prynne, Esq., Dr. Leighton, Dr. Bastwick, Dr. Burton, and a multitude of others, by those inhuman arbitrary judicatories.

Prynne was an eminent lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, a gentleman of high reputation for learning and piety; he wrote a book against the obscenity of the stage, and the lewd practices of the actors, who were arrived to such a height as to give great offence to all the sober part of the nation. Laud pretended this was a reflection on the queen, who was a mighty favourer of the women-actors, she having herself also acted a pastoral at Somerset-house[1]; so without any shadow of law, reason, or justice, he prosecutes Prynne in his beloved star-chamber, and pronounces this execrable sentence upon him: To pay the king five thousand pounds; to stand twice in the pillory; to have both his ears cut off, one at each time; to be afterwards imprisoned during life, without the use of pen, ink, or paper; and to be stigmatized on both cheeks with S. L. denoting thereby a seditious libeller.

At the same time Laud prosecuted Dr. Bastwick and Burton; the former an eminent physician, the latter a divine. They were both condemned to pay five thousand pounds to the king, to stand in the pillory, to have both ears cut off, and to be imprisoned during life; all which was executed with the utmost severity; and they, together with Mr. Prynne, were banished to the remote islands of Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey, where they were incarcerated, neither their wives nor any of their friends being permitted to see them.

John Lilburn, a young gentleman of considerable family and fortune, lived at this time with Mr. Prynne; and, having a great regard for a person of his extraordinary abilities and integrity, could not forbear writing something in his vindication. This soon came to Laud's ears: the prelate hereupon immediately ordered him to be brought before him in the court of star-chamber, where he sat in triumph, and condemned this unfortunate youth to be whipped from the Fleet-prison

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[1] See Appendix.

to Westminster-hall; to receive five hundred lashes, with a treble cord having knots upon it; and afterwards to stand in the pillory. He was whipped so bloodily that every heart bled for him, yet he bore it with a courage that was amazing. While he was in the pillory, in this most deplorable condition, he expressed some indignation at the injustice that was done him; this was immediately carried to Laud, who sent the executioner an order to gag him, which was instantly done. The spectators were all struck with horror and amazement.

Three years afterwards, a gentleman of the house of commons exclaimed with great force and eloquence against the diabolical practices of this court; and, taking notice of this Mr. Lilburn's sufferings, concludes with the following words: "By imprisonment he was made a dead trunk, by whipping a rogue, by pillorying a cheat, by gagging a beast; they had better have hanged him out-right." Rushworth says, "When once the star began to swell big, and was delighted with blood, (which was not till Laud's time, who made it spring out of the ears, noses, and shoulders of the punished) and nothing would satisfy some clergymen but cropt ears, slit noses, whipped backs, gagged mouths, and withal to be thrown into dungeons, and some to be banished from their native countries to remote islands, and by order of this court to be separated from their wives and children; then began the English nation to lay to heart the slavish condition they were like to come into, if this court continued." The learned lawyer, Acherley, says, "The cruelty of those corporal punishments, which were arbitrary and imposed for no offence against the laws, bound down all the gentlemen of England under a servile fear of the like treatment." The people of England had a general abhorrence of these acts of tyranny, which one can neither write or read of without trembling.

The parliament, some years afterwards, voted the

prosecution of those four gentlemen to be illegal and tyrannical, and obliged these unrighteous Judges to make them reparation. After the parliament had ordered them to be set at liberty, they came to London and were received with loud acclamations; they were met near the city by a hundred coaches filled with gentlemen of rank and figure. At the same time, one of the members of the city of London presented to the parliament a petition, signed by more than fifteen thousand hands, mostly persons of note, complaining of the wicked and tyrannical government of Laud, and the other prelates, who had treated some of the best men in England more like slaves at Morocco than like Christians, protestants, or Englishmen.

I cannot dwell on this barbarous scene, so will give you but one instance more of the horrid cruelty of this most impious court. The Rev. and learned Alexander Leighton, doctor of divinity in the two universities of St. Andrews and Leyden, was arrested by two ruffians belonging to the court of star-chamber, who dragged him with force and violence to Laud's house, where they told him he was to be examined, Laud being then at home; but, instead of that, they carried him through a subterraneous passage, to a place not opened since Queen Mary's bloody reign; from whence, having fettered him there with heavy bolts, they hurried him to Newgate, where in the entry his wife was almost killed; he was there cast into a nasty dog-hole full of rats and mice, with no light but from the uncovered roof, with no meat from Tuesday night till Thursday noon. In this doleful place and plight they kept him fifteen days, suffering none to come at him, not even his wife, in all that time. Four days after his commitment, Laud's officers, or rather ruffians, came to Dr. Leighton's house in Blackfriars, under a pretence of searching for books. Here they laid violent hands on his poor distressed wife, and used her with so much inhumanity as is a shame to express. They rifled every one in the house, and held

a cock'd pistol to a boy's breast, not above five years old, threatening to kill him if he would not discover where the books were; at which the poor child was so frightened, that he never recovered afterward. At last they carried off all the doctor's books, household goods, furniture, and wearing-apparel. During his confinement he almost pined away, and was so ill that an attorney and four physicians certified his case to be desperate[1]. Yet, absent and sick, he was sentenced to undergo the dreadful punishment of which we have an account as follows in his own petition to the parliament: "This horrid sentence was to be inflicted with knife, fire, and whip, at and upon the pillory, with ten thousand pounds fine; which some of the lords of the court conceived could never be inflicted, only that it was imposed on a dying man to terrify others. But Laud and his creatures caused the said sentence to be executed, on the 29th of November following, with a witness. For the hangman was animated with strong drink all the night before, in the prison, and with threatening words to do it cruelly. Your petitioner's hands being tied to a stake, besides all other torments, he received thirty-six stripes with a treble cord; after which he stood almost two hours in the pillory, in cold, frost, and snow; and then suffered the rest, as cutting off the ear, firing the face, slitting up the nose." Here the clerk of the house of commons, when the petition was reading, was ordered to stop; and when he was going on again, he was ordered to stop a second time, till the auditors recovered themselves a little, for the House was melted down with tears, tenderness, and compassion. The petitioner proceeded: "He was made a theatre of misery to men and angels; and being so broken with his sufferings that he was not able to go, the warden of the Fleet would not suffer him to be car-

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[1] All this is taken from the representation of his case, afterwards laid before the parliament.

ried in a coach, but hurried him away by water, to the further endangering of his life. And on that day sevennight, the sores upon his back, ears, nose, and face not being cured, he was again whipped at the pillory in Cheapside, and there had the remainder of the sentence executed, by cutting off the other ear, slitting up the other side of the nose, and branding the other cheek." My hand trembles, my heart bleeds, I can go no farther. The parliament, *nemine contradicente*, voted Dr. Leighton six thousand pounds, and made him warden of that prison where he so long lived in loathsome confinement [1].

This hellish cruelty, which the parliament could not bear the hearing of without being moved with tears and compassion, does bishop Laud, in his closet, write down at large in his diary with delight. Yet this is that very bishop of whom that zealot, archdeacon Eachard, says, "No man in the world was so fit to make a chancellor of the university of Oxford, considering his religion and charity." When this sort of men speak of religion and charity, the words must be taken in a sense directly opposite to their meaning in the New Testament.

Dr. Juxon, a haughty ecclesiastic of mean abilities, had been very assisting to Laud in his wicked doings, who, in return, got him advanced to the bishoprick of London; and soon after prevailed on the weak and infatuated king to make him lord high-treasurer of England, which gave great disgust to all the gentry and nobility; or, as Clarendon expresses it, set them in a flame.

When any one was brought into the star-chamber, they had always one general charge brought against

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[1] "The Doctor was well known," says Neal, "for his learning and other abilities: but his long and close confinement had so impaired his health that, when he was released, he could hardly walk, see, or hear. The sufferings of this learned man moved the people's compassion; and I believe the records of the Inquisition can hardly furnish an example of equal severity."

them, *viz.* That they were enemies to the church. Thus branded, without any regard to age, rank, or quality, they were treated with the utmost rudeness. Laud would make a speech of half an hour long, in favour of the divine right of arch-bishops, and bishops, deans, chancellors, arch-deacons, mitres, copes, &c. &c. which he would call the true primitive constitution; and would generally conclude with some silly and ill-natured ignorant reflections on all the foreign protestants, particularly the churches of Amsterdam and Geneva. By such misrepresentations he prevailed on the king to shut up the Dutch and Walloon churches in London, contrary to the law of God, and the law of nations, and against the interest of ours in particular; great numbers of sober industrious persons being thereby driven out of the kingdom.

Laud's speeches, what influence soever they had on his own tools and instruments, had no other effect on his auditors in general than to expose himself; for thereby he discovered his utter ignorance of all history, both sacred and profane.

It is not my intention to enter any farther into controversy than history is concerned; but I beg leave to recommend the reader to an admirable treatise on this head, which never was, nor ever will be fully answered by all the bigots in the world: it is entitled, "An Enquiry into the Constitutions of the Primitive Church," by the late Lord-chancellor King.

Things again, for some little time, went on pretty calmly. The court carried all before them. The cruelty of the star-chamber (as Acherley expresses it) bound down all the gentlemen in England under a slavish fear. The king openly avowed a despotic absolute government, by declaring that he would be accountable for his conduct to none but God [1]. Nothing can be more

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[1] Charles, in a speech to his parliament in 1626, says, "Remember that parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling,

foolish and ridiculous: is not every prince upon earth accountable for his actions to reason and justice? Sure I am, a king of England is in a particular manner accountable to the laws and constitutions of the realm. In one of his speeches to the parliament he has this very remarkable expression: "As it is blasphemy to dispute what God may do, so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do." In the height of his power (Burnet says) he was so possessed of the divine right of kings, that he could not bear that even an elective and limited king should be called in question by his subjects.

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sitting, and dissolution; therefore as I find the fruits of them good or evil they are to continue or not to be."

In his declaration of the same year we find the following:— "Although he (the king) well knoweth that the calling, adjourning, proroguing, and dissolving of parliaments, being his great council of the kingdom, do peculiarly belong unto himself by an undoubted prerogative inseparably united to his imperial crown; of which, as of his other royal actions, he is not bound to give an account to any but to God only, whose immediate lieutenant and vicegerent he is in these realms and dominions, by the divine providence committed to his charge and government." We smile at the titles assumed by the grand signior of Turkey, and are shocked at the presumption of the pretended descendants of St. Peter at Rome; but what shall we think of a king of England in the seventeenth century addressing an assembly of his fellow-countrymen, and telling them he is the immediate lieutenant and vicegerent of God, and that to him only he is accountable for his actions? I know not whether, in these assertions, we can dislike his hypocrisy and impiety more than we can feel contempt for his ignorance and folly.

Again, Charles says, in his speech to the lords and commons in 1628,—"I must avow that I owe the account of my actions to God alone." And he begins his declaration of 1629 in the following words: "Howsoever princes are not bound to give account of their actions but to God alone," &c. And on his trial he affirmed, "that a king cannot be tried by any superior jurisdiction on earth." Not satisfied, however, with fancying himself and his brother princes above all human laws, Charles was desirous of seating his ministers on the same visionary eminence. In his speech to the speaker of the house of commons but a few months after his accession to the throne, he says, "I must let you know that *I will not allow* any of my servants to be questioned amongst you, much less such as are of eminent place and near unto me."

The tyrannical power exercised by the crown began now to grow daily more and more grievous; insomuch, that a multitude of people began to take refuge in our foreign plantations, and numbers of families actually transported themselves from different parts of the kingdom. The government at length took umbrage at it, and published a proclamation to restrain his majesty's subjects from transporting themselves to the plantations in America without a royal licence. The court at the same time was greatly alarmed, by an information from the Custom-house, that eight large ships were then in the river Thames, taking in passengers for New England, which immediately produced the following order of council: "That the lord-treasurer of England should take a speedy and effectual care for the stopping of eight large ships now in the river Thames, bound to New England; and should likewise give orders for the putting on land all the passengers and provisions intended for the voyage."

The Providence of God appears very conspicuously in this order of council; for the famous Mr. Hampden, Sir Matthew Poynton, Sir William Constable, Sir Arthur Hasleridge, with many others of the same stamp, and, above all, Oliver Cromwell, were actually embarked and would have sailed the next day, had they not been prevented by this order. When liberty is lost, let slaves and cowards stay. True Englishmen could not bear the doleful sight: religion, laws, and liberty were then no more!

The murmurings and discontent of the people increased daily. The king was at last prevailed on to call a parliament, and accordingly a parliament was summoned to meet on the 13th of April, 1640, after twelve years intermission. The commons presently began to talk of redressing grievances: whereupon, to the surprise and concern of the whole nation, the king suddenly dissolved them, after a session of three weeks. And, to make the matter still worse, he at the same

time continued the convocation by a special warrant; who in complaisance passed a canon, wherein the divine right of kings, and unlimited obedience to them, were most strongly asserted.

By this preposterous conduct, the king soon found himself reduced to greater straits and difficulties than before. He was obliged to summon another parliament, to meet on the 3d of November following. In this parliament he may be truly said to have reversed his former arbitrary proceedings, (though without any such intention) by a more unaccountable step than any he had yet taken, and to have degraded his authority beneath every thing even his adversaries could have hoped for; I mean, by his passing a bill whereby he divested himself of the power of dissolving, or so much as proroguing them, without their own consent. Thus he subverted the constitution of his country to his own prejudice, as he had before violated it in numerous instances to the detriment of his subjects.

The English constitution is originally free. We do not owe our liberty to the concessions of our kings, as some writers have laboured to prove. No, Sir; in England there has ever been a constitution; that is, a system of laws, institutions, and customs, according to which the king is obliged to govern and the subject to obey. The king in his coronation-oath as much swears to the people as the people swear to the king. When the prince acts in conformity to the laws, he ought not, he must not be resisted, under any pretence whatever; but if he clearly violates the fundamental laws of the realm, and actually subverts the constitution, he virtually unkings himself, and may then not only be resisted, but even deposed by his injured people. Lineal succession and hereditary right have no foundation in nature; and to say they are appointed by God, is so groundless and ridiculous a position as to merit no reply. There is no form of government in the world of divine appointment: every nation and kingdom under

heaven is left to settle that form of government which is most agreeable to their genius, and most conducive to the sole end of all government—the happiness of the community. Even where kingly government prevailed, hereditary right was first introduced by communities, to prevent strife and confusion. In England this right is acknowledged and stands firm at this day, but subject to certain restrictions; that is, there have ever existed in the community certain laws founded on reason, tending to the public tranquillity and welfare; these laws are the rule of the governor's administration, as well as of the people's obedience; these laws are the constitution of the realm; and whenever it happens that a prince endeavours to subvert that constitution, and substitutes an arbitrary power in its room, then it becomes just, reasonable, and necessary, not only to resist, but even to depose such a governor. And if the circumstances of his descendants are such as will not comport with the interest of the nation, the lineal succession may be altered, or the crown transferred from one branch of the family to another; or to a new family, when the supreme law, the safety of the people, calls for it. By a statute, as far back as the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, it was made high treason for any one to affirm, that the reigning prince with the authority of parliament is not able to limit and bind the crown, and the descent and inheritance thereof. This plainly shows the legislature's opinion of hereditary right in those days.

The design of this letter, Sir, is to convince you, and all into whose hands it may fall, that King Charles was the very person who did deliberately and strenuously endeavour to subvert and destroy the constitution of this kingdom, and to substitute in its room a wicked, lawless, and tyrannical power over the lives and properties of his subjects; and consequently, that the opposition of his subjects, or the attempts of the people to depose him, cannot, with any colour of reason or

justice, be called a rebellion. No, Sir; it was a necessary opposition, founded on the justest principles; it was an opposition perfectly consistent with our holy religion, with the common sense of mankind, as well as entirely agreeable to the particular laws and constitution of this realm.

Government, I will allow, is a sacred thing, as you so often repeated; and to resist government is certainly unlawful, and may be reckoned among the most heinous crimes; but tyranny is not government. And as, in case there were no civil polity, men would not, however, be destitute of a natural right to defend their lives and properties, but might personally resist, or, if they found it necessary, destroy the invaders; so, as the nature of things does not allow of any established umpire to determine between a prince and his people, the community (collectively) has a like natural right of defending itself against an arbitrary or cruel administration. Nor is the exertion of this right liable to so much objection as is that of private men; for the matters in dispute between those are often of such a nature as makes it very difficult to judge of the aggressor: the offence is oftentimes secret; or, immediately affecting the aggrieved, self-love may magnify it beyond its due measure, or prompt to revenge, when prudence or goodnature may dictate otherwise in vain: moreover, in certain cases one may serve a present interest by claiming redress where no real injury has been offered. But a constitution can be no secret, nor can the violations of it be concealed. Self-love can never influence the society to resist legal government; for the society can consider that, as no other than its own security and support, and will be ever ready, for its own sake, to maintain and defend it. In short, as those in authority have greater inducements to become tyrants than subjects can have to resist or revolt, so, in fact, while it has been the almost constant aim of all governments to make themselves absolute, and the generality of princes

proceed by no other rule than their own caprice, with no other view but that of gratifying their lust of power, fame, or pleasure; no people, on the other hand, as a nation, ever revolted till their oppression became intolerable; nor have there been many (hardly any) lesser insurrections, or rebellions of a few, that have not been warrantable in point of equity, though not of prudence.

Again, private men in society, however injured and abused, must not be their own judges, but must seek relief from the equitable and impartial laws of the land. But King Charles had deprived them of that resource; laws and appeals were no more; he had a hundred times broken his coronation-oath. In the very nature of government is implied public safety and protection; King Charles's government was public destruction and calamity. He had taken from his subjects every thing that was dear and valuable; their peace, their rights, and possessions, all which he had publicly sworn at his coronation to defend and maintain: their properties he had unrighteously invaded, their liberties infringed. All this he did by means the most arbitrary and tyrannical; by repeated acts of horrid cruelty and barbarity, even on the best and wisest of his subjects.

What was now left for the people to do? He was now no prince of theirs, he had forfeited their allegiance. Liberty and laws were a jest; he treated their very names with contempt. Mr. Locke says, "That in a state of nature every man has a right to vindicate himself; and when society is dissolved, the same right returns. Men can never be deprived of public safety and private defence."

The people of England had no quarrel with King Charles, who had taken an oath to rule and govern by the laws and constitution of the realm; but when this king, by a conduct of many years, had discovered, in spite of oaths and laws, that he would rule by violence, and abide by no law, he was degenerated into a tyrant

and become a different person; then it became necessary for the people to repel force by force. They saw nothing but chains and fetters on one side, and arms on the other; and they wisely flew to their arms, which is what the people of England have ever done, and ever will do, in such direful circumstances. King Charles had no more right to what the law did not give him, than the Grand Turk had; and therefore they did not oppose an English governor, but an invader and a tyrant: for, as Mr. Locke justly observes, "Wheresoever law ends, tyranny begins." Had King Charles conquered his subjects, what would he have gained but the detestable glory of a triumphant oppressor, and the horrid satisfaction of seeing this kingdom reduced to poverty and servitude?

Would princes live and die in peace and security, let them rule by the fixed and prescribed laws of their respective countries, and not grasp at more than is given to them. If princes will never encroach, subjects will never rebel. How much more desirable, how much more safe and easy is the condition of a prince, who lives and rules by law over a free people by their own consent! The laws are their mutual defence and guard. Sir William Temple, in his admirable Essay of Government, says, "The safety or firmness of any frame of government depends on the breadth of its bottom; the broader the bottom, the less liable to be shaken or overthrown." The ground upon which all government in England now does or ever will stand, is the consent, the interest, and the affection of the people; therefore a monarchy, where a prince governs by the affections, and according to the opinions of the people, makes of all others the safest and firmest government. It is a poor and contemptible ambition in a prince, that of swelling his prerogative, and perpetually catching at advantages over his subjects; it discovers a mean spirit. A prince of a generous turn of mind will not look on his subjects as his property and

as slaves, but considers them under the amiable and endearing title of his children, and himself as their father and protector, and will ever cheerfully consent they shall hold their lives, liberties, and estates, by certain fixed and prescribed laws, and not by the mere will and pleasure of any single man. The universal experience of all ages, kingdoms, and nations, directs that no mere man ought ever to be intrusted with absolute power and dominion. Power of itself, without a proper check and control, naturally makes men wanton, cruel, and restless; it intoxicates the mind; in short, it has something in its very nature too great for the human soul to bear; it is fit for none but God, who is infinitely wise, just, and benevolent.

I apprehend the facts already recited are abundantly sufficient to prove, that King Charles did actually subvert and destroy the constitution: however, to put this grand point out of a possibility of being ever more disputed, I will mention two or three more.

He published a book of sports, requiring it to be read in all churches, thereby promoting and encouraging a horrid profanation of the sabbath.

But before I enter upon the particulars of this act, and the wicked design of the court by it, I would say a word or two relating to the ends of the original institution of the sabbath, from whence it will appear to be still obligatory upon all Christians.

The belief of a God is the foundation of all religion. It is necessary we should know whom we are to worship, and in what manner. It is likewise necessary that some portion of time be allotted for the instructing of mankind in the knowledge of their duty: hence there is and ever will remain an eternal reason of the fourth commandment having a place among the unalterable precepts of the moral law. Indeed, the preserving serious religion would be almost impossible without such an institution. On the other hand, the setting apart some periodical seasons for the more public and

solemn worship of God, when mankind may be instructed in all those duties that are required of them, in order to their present and eternal happiness, has a tendency to exalt the soul, to purify the heart, to qualify us for the purposes of this life as well as of a better; in a word, to promote our temporal as well as our eternal felicity. The sabbath was instituted that men might continually commemorate the works of creation, might offer up their grateful acknowledgments to God of all his mercies and goodness vouchsafed towards hem, and might openly declare themselves the worshippers of the one true God, the Author and Lord of the universe, in opposition to the infidelity of atheists, and the impure and ridiculous rites of idolatrous nations. The worship paid to God in heaven is thus represented in Scripture: The whole multitude of the heavenly host fell down before him that sat on the throne, saying, "Worthy art thou, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power, for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." This is the employment of saints and angels in the eternal sabbath in heaven; and the original foundation of the institution of a sabbath on earth was, the celebration of the praises of God. And that this solemn and public worship should be performed in an acceptable manner, it is requisite it should be done when the mind is most calm and serene, abstracted from the noise and hurry of the busy world: therefore it was that when God at first sanctified the seventh day, or appointed it for a day of worship, he prohibited all manner of work thereon. (Gen. ii. 1, 2, 3. Exod. xx. 8, &c.) But the business of the sabbath is not confined to public worship alone; there are various other duties to be performed thereon; it is then a proper time for reading the Scriptures, and endeavouring to understand their true meaning; for those that are masters of families to be assisting and instructing their children and servants in the knowledge and practice of their duty: in short, it is to be spent in whatever tends

to the honour of God, and the true interest and advancement of religion, virtue, and sobriety in the world. Besides, it ought to be considered that the circumstances of a great part of mankind, particularly those in the lower class of life, are of such a nature, that they have no other time for improving themselves in the knowledge of God, and in the practice of true religion and virtue.

I am sensible that this is a digression from my main design; but really, Sir, I could not enter upon the recital of a story, whereby it will appear, how the sabbath was, by the express command of King Charles the First, and the wicked compliance of a corrupt and worldly-minded clergy, profaned throughout this kingdom, in a most notorious manner, without saying something of the morality of its institution, and the unspeakable advantages arising to societies, as well as private persons, by a religious observation thereof; and consequently of the obligation incumbent on all men to sanctify it. To proceed then:

The court being now determined to be restrained by no laws, either human or divine, and wanting to render the common and lower class of people more ignorant and profane, that they might succeed the more easily in their favourite design of moulding our church to a nearer compliance with that of Rome, (as Ludlow expresses it,) they published a book of sports and pastimes to be practised on Sundays; and all ministers who refused to read this impious book were imprisoned and suspended. Besides this, they published a particular declaration encouraging dancing, leaping, vaulting, shooting, may-games, whitsunnals, maurice-dances, may-poles, all on sabbath-days. "It is sad to recount," says Dr. Fuller, "what grief and distraction was occasioned by this declaration in the hearts of all honest men. For, this sabbath-breaking gave great offence to the people in general, and was a vast increase to the puritan party, who cried out against it as a national sin." Some time

after was published a second book of sports, with many enlargements, commanding wrestling and cudgel-playing, &c. &c. on Sundays. The *good*, the *pious*, the *most religious* King Charles was so intent on this second publication, that, to hasten it, he wrote the following order or warrant to Laud.

CHARLES REX.

Canterbury, see that our declaration concerning recreations on the Lord's day, after evening-service, be printed.

This was afterwards produced by Laud in his defence.

Dr. Fuller again observes, "Many moderate men were of opinion, that this abuse of the Lord's day was a principal procurer of God's anger, afterwards poured out on this land in a long and dreadful civil war."

Soon after this second publication of the book of sports, Lord Chief Justice Richardson went the western circuit; and, at the assizes in Somersetshire, the gentlemen in that county complained to his lordship, that an inundation of wickedness, profaneness, and impiety, had lately seized the common people; that it was wholly occasioned by the Sunday's revels; and that the enormity was so great, that in many parishes, on Sunday evenings, nothing was to be seen but drunkenness, lewdness, and riot, which frequently ended in fighting and bloodshed, with such other scenes of wickedness and debauchery as is a shame to express [1].

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[1] "In this (*pious*) king's reign also a severe order was published for the putting down all afternoon sermons, under pretence of complying with his majesty's instructions of catechising by question and answer; and not only all other catechisms except that in the Common Prayer prohibited, but all expositions even of this catechism, which Bishop Wren declared *as bad as a sermon*. Dr. Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, so effectually suppressed the dangerous and ill practice of preaching twice a day, that *he gave God thanks* he had not one lecture left in all his diocese. The mi-

The Lord Chief Justice Richardson (thinking probably that the people were now become more vicious than their governors intended they should be) made an order hereupon, to restrain in some measure this horrid abuse of the sabbath. Upon hearing this news, Laud ran immediately to the king, and complained, that Judge Richardson, in his circuit, had endeavoured to hinder the profanation of the sabbath. Richardson, on his return, was immediately summoned to appear before the council; where his majesty in person commanded him to reverse the order, at the next assize, as he would answer the contrary at his peril. Lord Chief Justice Richardson returning from his next western circuit, was again summoned before the king and council for not revoking his order about Sunday's revels; where he was so reprimanded by the archbishop, that when he came from the board, the earl of Dorset meeting him, with tears in his eyes, and asking how he did, the Judge replied, "Very ill, my lord; for I am like to be choked with lawn sleeves."

This affair began to be much talked of. Laud, to justify himself and the king, shewed about at court a letter, wrote to him by Dr. Pierce, the then bishop of Bath and Wells, signed by seventy able clergymen, in favour of Sunday's revels; signifying, that they were in themselves innocent and laudable, (than which nothing could be more untrue,) and that they were grateful to the clergy (which very probably was true); but they were so wicked as to go further, and say, they were also acceptable to the gentry of that county; which was absolutely false. A copy of this famous letter was sent into Somersetshire, at which all the gentry were greatly enraged; or, to use Rushworth's

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nister of Bridgewater was suspended by him for preaching on the Sunday evening, though a funeral sermon, and another called to account for having two sermons in his church on the parish revel-day; the bishop alleging, 'twas an hindrance to the revel and to the utterance of church ale.' "—*Bennet's Memorial.*

own words, "were highly offended," and immediately sent up a petition, praying, that the order of Lord Chief Justice Richardson might be continued. This address was signed by

John Lord Pawlet,
Sir William Portman,
Sir John Starell,
Sir Francis Popham,
Sir Ralph Hopton,
Sir Edward Radney,
Sir Francis Doddington,
Sir John Horner,
Edward Pawlet, Esq.
George Speeke, Esq.
John Windham, Esq. &c.

What will the reader now think of Archbishop Laud, of Bishop Pierce, and his seventy able clergymen? I shall forbear to make any reflections of my own on such a behaviour of men assuming the sacred character; but give me leave to recite the plain, the honest remark of the great Mr. Locke, relating to their conduct on a like important occasion: speaking of the act of uniformity, and the wonderful compliance of the clergy with it, he says, "So great was the zeal in carrying on this church-affair, and so blind was the obedience required, that if we compute the time allotted for the clergy to subscribe the book of Common Prayer, we shall plainly find it could not be printed and distributed, so as one man in forty could have seen and read the book they did so perfectly assent and consent to. The clergy readily complied with it; for they are a sort of men taught rather to obey than understand, and to use what learning they have to justify, and not to examine what their superiors command." It is reported, that the late Sir Joseph Jekyll concluded his speech, in favour of the Mortmain act, with the following words: "It hath ever been a great unhappiness, that the clergy of our established church have been no better acquainted with the religion, laws, government, and true history of their country."

I could produce a cloud of witnesses to vouch in this

manner, for the honesty, prudence, and piety of the clergy in past times; or, in other words, to shew what goodly tools of lawless power they have been, and how thoroughly qualified they are for such an office. But the testimonies of two such eminent persons as the foregoing, are equivalent to those of a multitude; Mr. Locke, most illustrious for learning and virtue; Sir Joseph, a man of wisdom, piety, inflexible integrity, and impartial justice.

Much about this time Laud had also a quarrel with Mr. Deane, lord-mayor of London, for shutting up ale-houses and brandy-shops on the sabbath.

I am now come to the period of this wicked ecclesiastic's career; for, in the year 1644, he was brought to the bar of the house of commons, and, after a fair and equitable trial for his life, the House came to the following resolution (with but one dissenting voice); *viz.* "That he had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the religion, laws, rights, and liberties of this kingdom; that he had usurped an arbitrary and tyrannical power; and that for the same he should suffer death, as in cases of high-treason, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered." They afterwards sent him up to the lords, who voted him guilty of the treason without one dissenting voice. The manner of his death was changed from what the sentence denounced, as it usually is in the case of persons of quality, and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, the 10th of Jan. 1644-5.

This is but a small part of what I might have said of the violent and impious proceedings of this archbishop. What can one think then of such historians as Clarendon and Eachard, who are so lavish in the praises of this great criminal?

I now come to that horrid and most lamentable scene, the massacre of the protestants in Ireland, in 1641. The papists first rose in the province of Munster. A particular account of their barbarities would be too long, and too shocking. Cutting of throats, hanging,

and drowning, were the mildest treatment the protestants met with. Many had their eyes plucked out, and were then burnt or buried alive. Mothers were hanged on the gallows with their children about their necks. There was no regard paid to infants or to pregnant women. One protestant lady was delivered while in the hands of the tormentor, who flung the new-born infant to be eaten by a hog. These infernal monsters carried their inhumanity so far, as to oblige fathers and mothers to murder their own children, husbands their wives, and wives their husbands. There was such an excess of popish cruelty, that my nature shrinks and recoils; I can repeat no more of it. It was allowed on all hands, that more than one hundred and fifty thousand persons were butchered and murdered in this inhuman manner.

I am sensible I tread here on slippery ground, so shall make use of the words of others as much as possible. General Ludlow (vol. i. p. 17.) writes, "The king was in Scotland when the news of this Irish rebellion was brought to him; and, as I have heard from persons of undoubted credit, it was not displeasing to him." Shocking! shocking beyond expression is it, to be told (if true) that this dreadful and bloody massacre should not be displeasing to the king, when one can scarce read it without trembling, even at the distance of more than a hundred years. Pray, dear Sir, do not be angry with my military historian. Give me leave to tell you, he was a gentleman of quality, learning, experience, and conduct; he commanded armies, fought battles, and governed the kingdom of Ireland. He was a university scholar, a man of sense, and ever esteemed to have an inflexible regard to truth and justice. He was a man of better family and fortune than Clarendon, and was knight of the shire for the county of Wilts, when the other was only a member for Wotton Basset, a small borough in the same county. 'Tis true, indeed, Ludlow was forced into exile, and driven as it

were from place to place, to avoid assassination or falling into the hands of an apostate party, while the other was advanced to office, estate, and title; but it must be said to his real honour, that he never betrayed the constitution or deserted the interest of his country.

The news of this dreadful massacre alarmed all the people in England to a great degree; they were even at their wits end; and the more so, because those bloody papists confidently affirmed they were abetted by the king, and had a commission under the great seal for what they had done. Ludlow tells us[1], "A great number of protestants, flying from the bloody hands of the Irish rebels, arrived in England, filling all places with sad complaints of their cruelties to the protestants of that kingdom; whereupon the parliament earnestly pressed the king to proclaim them rebels, by a proclamation, but could not obtain it till after many weeks; and then but forty of these proclamations were printed, and not above half of them published."

The backwardness of the king to declare the Irish papists to be rebels and traitors, by a proclamation under the great seal, made a mighty noise in the house of commons; and it was there observed by many, that those concerned in the late tumult in Scotland, about a Prayer Book, were forthwith declared rebels in every parish church in the kingdom of England.

The proclamation published in Ireland by Sir Phelim Oneal, at the head of those bloody traitors, began with the following words: "Be it known to all our friends and countrymen, that the king's most excellent majesty, for many great and urgent causes him thereunto moving, and reposing confidence in our fidelity, has signified to us by commission, under the great seal of Scotland, bearing date the first of this instant, October."—Then follows the commission itself, "To arrest

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[1] Vol. i. p. 19.

and seize the goods, estates, and persons of all the English protestants."

As the rebels pretended the king's authority and commission, in so public and open a manner, it gave great offence to the parliament that they were not declared rebels and traitors by a proclamation. At last, to satisfy them, it was promised that on the first of January a proclamation should be published, declaring the Irish papists *in arms* to be rebels and traitors. But before this time came, Sir Edward Nicholas, one of the secretaries of state, sent a special warrant to the printer's, directing that only forty copies should be printed, and those not published till his majesty's further pleasure was signified. This gave a just foundation for all the jealousies and suspicions that were afterwards entertained on that affair. Dr. Calamy, in his Life of Baxter, (page 43.) says, "The Irish declared they had the king's commission for what they did; and many even at that time, weighing all circumstances, believed as much; while others represented it as an unjust and scandalous aspersion on his majesty. But, as Providence ordered it, a certain memorable particularity helped to set this matter in a just light: the Marquis of Antrim, who was a noted man amongst the Irish rebels, having had his estate sequestered, thought fit, upon the restoration of King Charles the Second, to sue for the restitution of it. The Duke of Ormond and the council judged against him, as being one of the rebels; whereupon he brought his cause over to the king, and affirmed, that what he did was by his father's consent and authority; and the king referred it to some worthy members of the privy council to examine what he had to show: and upon examination they reported, that they found *he had the king's consent or letter of instruction for what he did;* which amazed many. Hereupon King Charles wrote a letter to the Duke of Ormond, and the council, to restore his estates; because, it appeared to those appointed to examine it, that what

he did was by his father's order and consent. The Lord Mazarine, and others in Ireland, not fully satisfied with this, thought fit so far to prosecute the matter, as that the Marquis of Antrim was forced to produce in the house of commons a letter of King Charles the First, by which he gave him an order for the taking up arms; which, being read in the house, produced a long silence. The whole account of it, with a great many surprising particulars, was published in a pamphlet intitled 'Murder will Out.'" Thus far Calamy.

Let us now see what Bishop Burnet says of this bloody business, History of his own Times, p. 58, &c. "I will relate some particulars concerning the Earl of Antrim; I had in my hands several of his letters to the king, writ in a very confident style. Upon the Restoration, in the year 1660, Lord Antrim was thought guilty of so much bloodshed, that it was taken for granted, he could not be included in the act of indemnity that was to pass in Ireland. Upon which he came over to London and was lodged at Somerset-house. He petitioned the king to order a committee of council to examine the warrants he had acted by. As it seemed but just to see what he had to say for himself, so a committee was named, of which the Earl of Northumberland was chief. He produced to them some of the king's letters, but they did not come up to a full proof. In one of them the king wrote, 'he had not then leisure, but referred himself to the queen's letter, and said, that was all one as if he wrote himself.' Upon this foundation, Antrim produced a series of letters written by himself to the queen, in which he gave her an account of every one of those particulars that were laid to his charge, and shewed the grounds he went on, and desired her directions; to every one of these he had answers, ordering him to do as he did. So a report was prepared, to be signed by the committee, setting forth, *that he had fully justified himself in every thing that had been objected to him*, and that he ought not to be

excepted out of the indemnity. This was brought first to the Earl of Northumberland, to be signed by him; but he refused it, and said, he was sorry Antrim had produced such warrants, but he did not think they could serve his turn, for he did not believe any warrant from a king or queen could justify so much bloodshed in so many black instances as were laid against him. Upon this refusal, the rest of the committee did not think fit to sign the report, so it was let fall; and the king was prevailed on to write to the Duke of Ormond, telling him that Antrim had so vindicated himself, that he must endeavour to get him included in the indemnity: that was done, and was no small reproach to the king."

Neither Burnet nor Calamy takes notice of the date of this famous letter of King Charles the Second, to the Duke of Ormond, but it was dated at Whitehall, the 10th of January, 1663 [1].

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[1] Harris (in his Life of Charles I.) gives the following extracts from this letter, which by his account was dated 10th July, 1663:—

Charles II. says expressly that the "referees after several meetings, and perusal of what had been offered to them by the Marquis (of Antrim), have reported to us that they have seen several letters, all of them the hand-writing of our royal father, to the said marquis, and several instructions concerning his treating and joining with the Irish, in order to the king's service, by reducing to their obedience and by drawing some forces from them for the service of Scotland. That besides the letters and orders under his majesty's hand, they have received sufficient evidence and testimony of several private messages and directions sent from our royal father, and from our royal mother, with the privity and with the directions of the king our father; by which they are persuaded that *whatever intelligence, correspondence, or actings, the said marquis had with the confederate Irish catholics, was directed or allowed* by the said letters, instructions, and directions; and that it manifestly appears to them, that the king our father was *well pleased* with what the marquis did, after he had done it, and *approved* the same." And again, says his majesty (Charles II.), "We cannot in justice but, upon the petition of the Marquis of Antrim, and after the serious and strict inquisition into his actions, declare unto you, that we do find him innocent from any malice or rebellious purpose against the crown; and that what he did by way of correspondence, or compliance with

Upon my word, Sir, this bears hard upon the memory of your holy martyr. Had I time, I could produce a variety of other instances to convince you, that you are guilty of a most notorious mistake when you so repeatedly affirmed, he suffered martyrdom for the protestant religion. I do not believe, indeed, King Charles the First gave the Irish papists a commission to cut the throats of men, women, and children, in cold blood, and other such horrid cruelties; but from a strict and impartial inquiry into the best histories of those days, there is really too much ground to believe he did countenance and give a commission to the papists to take up arms against the protestants; and if a horrid and bloody massacre was the consequence of this commission, was not the king then at least accessary to it? And in the business of murder, I apprehend our common law, as well as common sense, knows no difference between the accessary and the principal, but deems them both equal in guilt and punishment.

During the king's stay in Scotland, he endeavoured to prevail on that people to invade England, but without effect. On his return to England he was observed to grow daily more violent and tyrannical. He countenanced a company of loose dissolute fellows, frequenters of ale-houses, taverns, and gaming-houses, and kept a table for them in his own palace at Whitehall; and at the head of this rude mob, all armed, he entered the house of commons, sat down in the speaker's chair, and demanded the delivery of five of the most eminent members, Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Stroud, and Hasleridge; names that I cannot mention without a peculiar reverence; *their memories will be always dear to every honest Briton, for that noble stand, that brave defence they made in favour of the religion, laws, and liberties*

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the Irish rebels, was in order to the service of our royal father, *and warranted by his instructions*, and the trust reposed in him; and that the benefit thereof accrued to the service of the crown, and not to the particular advantage and benefit of the marquis."

of their country. Ludlow says, (p. 21.) "The king encouraged a great number of loose and debauched fellows about the town, to repair to Whitehall, where a constant table was provided for their entertainment." And again, (p. 24.) "The king went in person to the house of commons, attended not only with his ordinary guards of pensioners, but also with those desperadoes, which for some time he had entertained at Whitehall, to the number of three or four hundred [1], armed with partizans, swords, and pistols. The king, not finding any of the five members there, left the house; many members cried out, "Privilege, privilege!" and were pleased to call it an outrageous act against all the people's rights and privileges; and, after a short debate, they unanimously voted, That the king's entering their house, was in a warlike manner [2]. And therefore they,

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[1] "The vote of the House declares them to be five hundred armed men, papists and soldiers, who came with the king."

[2] To this rash and desperate act Charles was stimulated and hurried on by his haughty and bigoted queen, who, on his starting some objections, makes use of this singular language: "Go, coward," says she, "and pull those rogues out by the ears, or never see my face more."—"The obsequious monarch went," says Towgood, "burst into the house at the head of his little army, and pulls down upon his own ears the fabric of our constitution, which at last buried him in its ruins."

Some further particulars of this important event cannot fail of being interesting. On the 3d of Jan. 1641—2, the king sent his attorney-general to the house of peers, with orders to accuse of high treason the Lord Kimbolton with the five commoners before mentioned. At the same time officers were sent to their several houses to seal up their trunks, doors, and papers: whereupon the commons ordered their serjeant to go and break open the seals, and apprehend those that put them on. The peers also made an order to open the doors and trunks of the members of both houses, which were sealed; and resolved to join with the commons in a petition to the king for a guard, and to represent to his majesty that the privileges of parliament had been violated. A serjeant of arms came to the house of commons from the king, and required the five members accused by his majesty. The commons appointed a deputation from their body, to wait upon his majesty and acquaint him, "That his message was a matter of great consequence, that it concerns the privilege of parliament and of all the commons of England; that they will take it into considera-

in great fear, trouble, and confusion, adjourned to the Guildhall, in the city, for their better security. The same evening the king went into the city; but his coach was attended by multitudes, crying out, "Privilege of parliament." This happened on the 4th of January, 1642; and from this day we must date the beginning of the civil war. The king doubled his guards at Whitehall, collected a great quantity of fire-arms, and gunpowder, sent several persons into the country to raise officers and soldiers, and dispatched his papist queen to Holland, who carried with her privately the crown jewels of England, which she pawned to Mr. Webster, a noted banker of Amsterdam, for a great sum, and laid it out in arms, to enable his majesty to make war against his own subjects."

So by all accounts, and in all shapes, the king himself was the beginner of this dreadful civil war.

The pretension of both parties being submitted to the decision of the sword, the only dispute now was, whether the people of England should again recover their laws and liberties, or be governed by the absolute

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tion, and attend his majesty with as speedy an answer as the greatness of the business will permit." And at the same time they enjoined the five members to give their daily attendance in the House. But the king understanding that the commons had voted against the arrest or seizure of their members, went himself the next day to the house, as has been before related. The commons however receiving information of his majesty's coming, and thinking it probable that he intended to seize the five members, they ordered them immediately to depart the house. They were hardly gone out when the king appeared, and, as he passed up towards the chair, said, "By your leave, Mr. Speaker, I must borrow your chair a little." Looking round, he said, "As long as these persons that I have accused are here, I cannot expect that this house will be in the right way; therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them wheresoever I find them. Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect them from you, that you shall send them unto me as soon as they return thither." As his majesty was going out, many members cried out aloud, so as he might hear them, "Privilege! Privilege!" The House was in great alarm while the king remained, the door and all the avenues being crowded with his armed men.

will and caprice of a single person? Whitlock, speaking of the parliament forces, says; "Most of them were freeholders and freeholder's sons, who upon matter of conscience engaged in the quarrel; and then being armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without with good iron arms, they would as one man stand firmly, and charge desperately." Ludlow[1] says, "Things being brought to this extremity, the nation was driven to a necessity of arming, in defence of the laws, openly and frequently violated by the king, who now resolved to do that by force of arms which he could not do by the strength of argument. I thought it my duty, as an Englishman, to enter into the service of my country, in the army commanded by the earl of Essex, under the authority of the parliament." A true English spirit! O how far different this from Clarendon and Eachard!

At last, after a dreadful civil war of many years, religion, laws, and liberty prevailed, as they ever will do in England, sooner or later. The king, by the fate of war, was taken, and afterwards made a prisoner at Newport, in the Isle of Wight. Here he entered into a treaty with the parliament, commissioners being appointed for that purpose by both parties. The king entirely despairing doing any thing more by force, made a great many concessions; *viz.*

1. To indemnify the parliament for all that had been done by them during the war, which the king acknowledged they were necessitated to do in their just and lawful defence.

2. He agreed that archbishops should be abolished, and that the bishops who remained, provisionally, should not exercise authority, jurisdiction, or ordination, but with the advice and assistance of their presbyters; that the presbyterian government should be

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[1] Vol. i. p. 41, 42.

established for three years, at the end of which the assembly of divines, his majesty naming but twenty more, should determine the form of church-government for the future; and that the common prayer should be taken away out of all churches and chapels.

I mention these particulars, to shew the ignorance and presumption of those who annually affirm, the king was a martyr for the church.

During this treaty, the parliament received letters from Colonel Jones in Ireland, giving an account of the arrival of the Marquis of Ormond in that kingdom, with a commission to conclude a peace with the rebels, at the very time when the king was treating with the parliament to carry on the war against them. Jones also intercepted a letter of Ormond's to the chief of the Irish massacrers; it was signed Ormond, and directed, To our loving friend Sir Richard Blake, chairman of the assembly of the confederate catholics at Kilkenny. Lilly, speaking of the veracity of King Charles the First, says of him: "He had so much of self-end in all he did, it was a most difficult thing to hold him close to his word or promise; so that some foreign princes bestowed on him the character of a most false prince, and one that never kept his word except for his own advantage." Again, "Though in time of parliament he often promised to redress grievances, yet the best friend he hath cannot produce any one act of good he ever did his subjects in the vacancy of parliament." Does this agree with the king's strict justice, piety, and devotion, that Clarendon speaks of? This discovery put an end to the treaty at once.

The king's death was a thing now resolved on by those in the army who had power to put it in execution. And they, to oblige the commons to concur in the design, placed a guard at the door of the parliament-house, to prevent any of those members going in, from whom they apprehended any opposition. The number of the excluded was about one hundred and forty: only

some of these were voluntary seceders, in disgust for the force put upon their brethren. The secluded members immediately published a solemn declaration, signifying, that all the votes and ordinances of parliament since their exclusion, and during the continuance of the army's influence upon the House, were null and void, and no ways obligatory. The sitting members, on the other hand, voted this declaration to be scandalous and seditious.

Cromwell, and a few more of the army, had now the majority in parliament, and court was made to them accordingly. They abused that power they found they had, both in the army and the house of commons, to execute the base design they had formed against the king's life. I have no reserves; I love a fair and open representation of things. I can see wickedness, tyranny, and a flagrant breach of trust on both sides. I will readily grant that the king had hard and cruel usage, that he was murthered, that he was destroyed by a faction! The constitution was now again trampled upon, the laws were violated, tyranny and a wicked military force usurped their room! But still, let us trace this lamentable state of things to its first cause. It began from the court and clergy. It was the monarch who created a disgust to monarchy; it was the insolence of churchmen that made the church odious. You detest the murder of the king; so do I, altogether as much. But I likewise detest the murder of the constitution, in which he and his wicked counsellors were principals, and which for many years they had been effecting. You mentioned the murder of the king and the abolition of the monarchy as the most wonderful events that ever the world produced. But, Sir, give me leave to tell you, that there was nothing wonderful or surprising therein. Any one that had been at all acquainted with the history of kingdoms or states, might easily have foreseen them. Cromwell, Ireton, and some others of the army had, by invincible courage, subdued

all the enemies of the constitution; and this they performed by troops not only hardy and brave, but the most sober also, and best disciplined, that this or any other nation had ever seen. What wonder is it, if the leaders of such as these, if they had an inclination to subvert the laws of their country, to set up for themselves, and erect a new tyranny, in their own persons, in the place of that from which they had just delivered her: I say, what wonder is it, if a set of men thus qualified, accomplish their purposes? It was the best of the Roman troops that were the instruments of Cæsar's usurpation. Soldiers are inured to implicit obedience; whatever their officers command they seldom scruple; it is their profession to dispute by force and the sword. Cromwell, Ireton, and a few more of the army, having succeeded in that bold and impious attempt, of secluding by force one hundred and forty members, or purging the house, as it was termed, found themselves, by accursed experience, able to overbalance and controul the civil authority. They lost no time, they exerted their strength, destroyed the king, and seized the sovereign power at once. Men naturally desire dominion and riches; and it is ridiculous to presume they will not endeavour to attain them when they have opportunity and power. I could mention many parts of Europe that have been enslaved by their own troops. *This has been and ever will be the case of all countries that subsist by standing armies.* When those have conquered the enemies of their country, they will subdue their country for themselves. Instances of this are too numerous to allow ours to be wondered at.

You was all along grossly mistaken, in presuming the death of the king to be a national act. It was merely the act of the army. Ireton was the person who drove on the king's trial and death. Cromwell was a long time in suspense about it. "Ireton," says Burnet, "had the principles and temper of a Cassius in him, he stuck at nothing that could have turned

England to a commonwealth; and he found out Cook and Bradshaw, two bold lawyers, as proper instruments for managing it."

You likewise sadly confounded the proceedings of the long parliament, condemning the first opposition with as much severity as the very act of cutting off the king's head.

I could say a good deal in vindication of the long parliament, from their first session to the last moment of their existence; which was, when the army by force secluded above one hundred and forty members, as aforesaid. They were after that no parliament, nor could they in any shape be deemed the representative body of the nation. No, certainly. They were then under the terror, awe, and influence of a wicked military power, which would admit of no check or controul. I choose here to make use of the words of others. Wellwood, in his Memoirs, says, "No age ever produced greater men than those who sat in that parliament[1]. They had sufficient abilities and inclinations to render the king and their country happy. They set down a scene of grievances under which the nation had long groaned; the many cruelties and illegal practices of the star-chamber and high-commission courts were now laid open; and it was insisted on, that those two arbitrary tribunals should be thrown down."

The intentions of this parliament were certainly just and noble, and tended to the equal advantage of king

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[1] "Whitelock observes, that there were in this house many persons of extraordinary parts and abilities; and as to their estates, one may make a judgment by what H. L'Estrange says of the next parliament, consisting in a manner of the same members, *viz.* 'Their estates, modestly estimated, were able to buy the house of peers, the king excepted, thrice over. A proper assembly this, to bear the insults of a weak and imperious administration!'"—"Neither Rome nor Athens," says the learned Coke, "could ever glory in such an assembly as the commons of this parliament were for their virtue and learning; nor any age produce such a number of men of the like integrity to their country," &c.

and people. But the king urged on his own ruin step by step, and at last came to an open rupture with the parliament, which made the gap too wide to be again closed. I am sensible Clarendon and Eachard every where treat this parliament as a parcel of rebels and scoundrels, and represent their proceedings in a base and injurious manner. But I have a greater authority than that of any private man, to support and vindicate their proceedings: that very convention that brought in King Charles the Second, though ready to run mad with loyalty, would not suffer any reflection on the conduct of those illustrious patriots, except only in the article of beheading the king. Mr. William Lenthal, who had been speaker of the long parliament, and was a member of the restoring one, happened to drop this expression in the debate about the general pardon: "He who first drew his sword against the late king, committed as great an offence as he who cut off his head." For which expression the house of commons ordered him to be seized instantly by their serjeant, and directed Sir Harbottle Grimstone, their speaker, to reprimand him in the following manner:

"Sir, the House hath taken great offence at some words you have let fall in this debate, which in their judgment contain as high a reflection on the justice and proceedings of the lords and commons of the late parliament, in their actings before 1648, as could be expressed. They apprehend there is much poison in the said words, and that they were spoken out of a design to inflame, and to render those who drew the sword to bring delinquents to punishment, *and to assert their just liberties*, equally culpable with those who cut off the king's head."

Do not Clarendon and Eachard stand unanswerably condemned in the most solemn manner by this declaration of the house of commons, pronounced by their speaker? after which, all future critics on them would be superfluous.

I now come to that part of your sermon, wherein, according to the usual custom, you laid the trial and death of the king at the door of the presbyterians [1]. Most true it is, on the contrary, that of all our different parties, none had the honesty and courage to appear openly for the king but the presbyterians. They exerted themselves in public and private, and omitted no one thing that was possible to be done, to prevent the execrable fact of putting his majesty to death. No sooner was he taken, and confined as a prisoner, but Mr. Calamy, Mr. Marishall, Mr. Ash, Mr. Whiteaker,

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[1] That the opposition Charles experienced was not solely from the presbyterians, but that the *church of England* had the honour of ranking many of her sons among this band of patriots, the following facts will suffice to prove.

(The authority of Clarendon, on whose assertions these facts rest, must be decisive when we consider that "he was King Charles the First's most intimate counsellor, favourite, and friend;" that he was lord chancellor to Charles II. and father-in-law to James II.; that he was not only a staunch episcopalian, but decidedly opposed to the parliament party, and was certainly not inclined to represent the leaders of that party in *more* engaging colours than actually belonged to them.)

"The Earl of Essex, the parliament's general, and whose very name raised an army, was episcopal," and "was as much devoted as any man to the book of Common Prayer."—"The admiral, (Earl of Warwick) who seized the king's ships, and employed them against him in the service of the parliament, discovered no aversion to episcopacy, but professed the contrary."—"Sir John Hotham, who shut the gates of Hull against the king and was the first man proclaimed a traitor by him, was very well affected to and had unquestionable reverence for the government, both in church and state."

Sir Henry Vane, Lenthal the speaker, and Pym (the member for Tavistock) a person of the greatest influence in the house, professed to be very entire to the doctrine and discipline of the church.

The noble Hollis was also a churchman.—Thus two, if not three, of the five members whom the king went to the house of commons to seize, were churchmen. "Dr. Williams, *Archbishop* of York, accepted a commission from the parliament, went into the army," and was commander in chief of the parliament forces in North Wales. Baxter says, "That the great officers in Essex's army were *conformists*, and some of them so zealous for the liturgy and diocesans, that they would not hear a man as a minister that had not episcopal ordination."

Mr. Sedwick, and many other presbyterian ministers, waited on the Lord General Fairfax, testifying their dislike of making the king a prisoner. A few days after, above forty of the presbyterian ministers joined in a letter to the general and officers in the army, freely declaring against their seizing and imprisoning the person of the king. This was about the latter end of December, 1648. About the middle of January it began to appear, that the death of the king was a matter fixed and determined by the army. On the 18th of January there was another meeting, of more than sixty of the principal presbyterian ministers in and about London, wherein it was instantly agreed, that, in behalf of themselves and their respective congregations, they should by some public act declare before God, angels, and men, their abhorrence of the seizing and imprisoning the person of the king, and their detestation of putting him to death; which they apprehended would be the issue of the trial then depending. In consequence of this resolution, the following representation was immediately printed and published, in the form of a letter, directed to the general and council of war:

"That they appeared at first for the parliament, on the propositions and orders of the lords and commons, June 10th, 1642, for bringing in of money and plate, wherein they were assured it should be no otherwise employed than to maintain the protestant religion, the king's authority, his person in his royal dignity, the free course of justice, the laws of the land, the peace of the kingdom, and the privilege of parliament, against any force that should oppose them. That they were wholly unsatisfied with the proceedings since the exclusion and imprisonment of the members of the house of commons, and held themselves bound in duty to God and religion, the king, the parliament, and kingdom, to profess before God, angels, and men, that they verily believed, the taking away the life of the king, in the way of trial then depending, was not only not agree-

able to the word of God, the principles of the protestant religion, (never yet stained with the least drop of the blood of a king,) or the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, but contrary to them; as also to the oath of allegiance, the protestation of the 5th of May, 1641, and the solemn league and covenant: from all which, or any of which engagements, they knew not any power on earth able to absolve them, or others. They warned and exhorted in the name of the great God, all that belong to their charge and ministry, to keep close to the ways of God, the rules of religion, the fundamental constitution and government of the kingdom; not suffering themselves to be seduced from it, by being drawn to subscribe the late models or agreement of the people, which directly tended to subvert the fundamental government; and to mourn bitterly for the sins of all degrees of men, and beg of God that he would restrain the violence of men, that they might not dare to draw upon themselves and the kingdom the blood of their sovereign [1]."

This solemn protest was signed by above fifty of the principal presbyterian ministers, and was by some of the subscribers delivered to the general and council of war; which, as Calamy observes, was running a great hazard as things then stood, and may be justly reckoned as an evidence of the great integrity and honesty of the persons who subscribed it. Yea, the day the king was beheaded, Mr. Calamy, and some others applied to General Fairfax, and persuaded him to rescue the king; but he was full of regret and uneasiness, and saw that he had been tricked and overpowered by his under-officers; so that soon after he laid down his commission, and never had to do with the army more; whereby Cromwell became head of all.

What sort of mortals must those vicars, curates, doctors, and dignitaries be, that pass sentence of damna-

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[1] Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. i p. 61.

tion, every 30th of January, on those ministers and their brethren, for killing this very king, whom, with so much boldness, truth, and courage, they laboured to save? Strange and surprising infatuation, egregious ignorance and baseness, which no age or history can parallel[1]!

And here, Sir, you did not only seem to expatiate on the faults of the dead with a bitter and malicious pleasure, but was pleased to cast many severe and indecent reflections on the present generation of presbyterians; "and did call on them aloud, to repent and mourn in sackcloth and ashes; to weep and fast with the utmost contrition and self-abasement; that so they might not bear the abominable iniquities of their forefathers, but by their extraordinary humiliation and sorrow might avert the just indignation and wrath of Almighty God."

Considering all this, I was quite astonished at what you advanced on this head. In truth, it was not only contrary to reason and justice, but directly opposite to all divine revelation. It is from thence incontestably plain, that every man shall stand upon his own bottom, shall be condemned or acquitted hereafter, agreeable to his own conduct and behaviour; or, as the New Testament expresses it, shall be judged according to the actions done in the body, whether they be good or evil. It is no where said, that any shall be judged according to the actions done or performed by their great grandfathers, sixty or seventy years before they were born. No: the very suspicion of it carries an injurious reflection on the justice and goodness of the Deity.

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[1] "It is plain the king's death is not to be charged upon any religious party or sect of Christians as such; nor upon the people of England assembled in parliament; but upon the council of officers and agitators, who, having been deeply engaged in the transactions of those times, and fearing the king's vindictive temper *and the danger of trusting to his promises*, thought, 'tis probable, their own safety could no other way be provided for, but by this bold and illegal stroke."—*Towgood.*

And it can never enter into my head to conceive, that I can be properly punishable for the sins of my parents. Of my own sins I ought to repent, and to be filled with shame and indignation at the remembrance of them; and I am certainly liable to punishment in proportion to the degree of my guilt; but of my grandfather's or great grandfather's sins I can no more repent than I can of the sins of my grandchildren yet unborn. It is impossible for me to prevent what shall be done after I am dead, so it was equally impossible for me to help what was acted before I was born.

You also hinted at the political principles of the present dissenters. I take the liberty to say, they are not ashamed of them. They are the same now as in the days of their forefathers. Upon their principles the late glorious revolution was founded. Their principles have been confirmed by many and repeated acts of parliament, and have often had the suffrage and sanction of the most august assemblies upon earth. Upon their principles, Sir, stands the parliamentary succession of the crown of these realms, in the present reigning family; and God Almighty grant it may there ever stand. Yea, I could tell you a time when the clergy themselves were glad to borrow their principles.

I cannot finish my remarks on your sermon, without taking notice of what you was pleased to advance in the close of it, relating to the title King Charles had to the crown of England, which you called an absolute, indefeasible, hereditary right, and consequently not liable to cavil or dispute by party or faction. This is what I think should never be said in pulpits, as it seems to imply a distrust of the validity of the parliamentary establishment.

I told you, in the beginning of my remarks, that as far back as the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, it was made high-treason for any one to affirm, that the reigning prince, with the authority of parliament, is not able to limit or bind the crown. I doubt not but

you imbibed this principle of hereditary right at Oxford forty years ago, and having never suffered yourself impartially to examine its foundation, it is become to you as a demonstrated truth. But the present age is given to reasoning; they do not so implicitly submit to absurdities, though they have the sanction of a convocational decree.

You was pleased to dress up the principles of the presbyterians in a frightful shape; but let me tell you, Sir, in my turn, that the principles of your party have been burnt, not by a rude and lawless rabble, but by the common hangman, in broad day-light, before the Royal Exchange in London, and by authority of parliament. Perhaps you never have heard of this contemptuous treatment of the Oxford principles, and therefore I will give it you from the parliamentary records. "*Anno Dom.* 1710, the house of lords taking into consideration the judgment and decree of the university of Oxford, passed in their convocation 21st of July, 1683: It was resolved by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, that the said judgment and decree contains in it several positions *contrary to the constitution of this kingdom*, and destructive to the protestant succession, as by law established. And it was thereupon ordered, by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, that the said judgment and decree shall be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, before the Royal Exchange in London, between the hours of twelve and one, on Monday the 17th instant of March, in the presence of the lord-mayor of the city of London, and the two sheriffs of London and Middlesex."

In this decree were strongly asserted the doctrine of passive obedience, the absolute, indefeasible, and hereditary right of succession to the crown; and revolution-principles were called damnable. Bishop Burnet, speaking of this detestable decree, says, "The university of Oxford asserted the king's prerogative in the highest

strain of the most abject flattery possible, both in their addresses and in their wild decree; in which they laid together a set of such high-flown maxims, as must establish an unaccountable tyranny."

I will readily grant, it is an action worthy a minister of the church of England to discover a proper zeal for the supremacy and prerogative of his prince; but then, Sir, it should be with such limitations and restrictions as are consistent with our known and established laws, and agreeable to the settlement of the imperial crown of these realms. Under this head you might have testified some love to your country, some little attachment to the liberties of your fellow-subjects. But the advancing, or the bare hinting, that impious doctrine of an absolute, indefeasible, hereditary right, is not only weak and foolish, but may be attended with dangerous consequences, as it may so unsettle the minds of some of his majesty's subjects as to make them suspect the validity of his parliamentary title; a title by far the best and most glorious, and will be found by experience to be the most durable. *An absolute prince is of all others the most insecure; as he proceeds by no rule of law, he can have no rule of safety.* He acts by violence; and violence is the only safe-guard against him. It was the advancing this slavish doctrine from the pulpit, in the latter part of Queen Anne's reign, that greatly contributed to the rebellion which broke out on the accession of the late King George I. to the throne of this kingdom. This, with great propriety, might be called the grand rebellion. It was a rebellion, the most wicked and diabolical that ever the world produced; a rebellion against king, lords, and commons; against religion, laws, and liberty; in favour of chains, fetters, slavery, blackness and darkness both of body and mind. An event that will leave an eternal mark of infamy and disgrace on the British nation; as many of the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, were either openly engaged therein, or secretly favoured it. I have often wished,

for the honour of the nation, that a hundred of the most considerable of the rebels had been confined in Bedlam, during their respective lives, that after-ages might have concluded, none but fools and madmen were engaged in that most wicked and impious attempt.

And here I cannot omit taking notice, not only to the everlasting honour of the presbyterians, but of all the different denominations of dissenters, that there was scarce a single man of them to be found, at that critical period, but what openly declared for the parliamentary succession of the crown in the House of Hanover; and were preparing to venture their lives and fortunes in its defence.

The invader, you know, Sir, claimed under the notion of an absolute, indefeasible, hereditary right. Whether he was, or was not, the son of King James, is quite out of the question; it is of no consequence at all to any one man in England, Scotland, or Ireland, who was his father, or who was his mother; he is a person attainted by law, and therefore cannot reign; and all his aiders, and abettors, or whoever holds any correspondence or intelligence with him, are deemed and judged guilty of high treason[1].

I assure you, Sir, were I in possession of the mines of Mexico and Peru, together with all the other riches of those vast and mighty empires, I would most cheerfully sacrifice all, to the very last shilling, to preserve, and transmit to posterity, the present parliamentary succession of the crown, with which are connected, religion, laws, liberty, and independence; and should, in my most calm and serious moments, esteem my conduct to be just and prudent. And I persuade myself, I here speak the language of every true Briton. Most surprising then it is, that any one, who has bound himself by the strongest engagements religion can lay men under, and has tied down his soul by an oath, to defend

[1] See the act of the 14th of King William, intitled, An Act of Attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales of High Treason.

and maintain the present settlement of the crown in the illustrious House of Hanover, should be so wicked and profane, as to hint any thing in favour of an absolute hereditary right.

Thanks be to heaven for this parliamentary settlement of the imperial crown of Great Britain: a settlement, which our religion, our country, our liberty, and our property, oblige us to maintain: yea, without the solemnity of an oath, we are bound to defend this establishment, by every motive that can influence the mind of man; honour, conscience, and the love of our country constrain us to it.

We should certainly have been chained down, in the most abject condition of servitude, in the reign of the late King James, had not the Almighty, in mercy, given us that glorious instrument of his providence, the late and memorable King William; by whose seasonable interposition we are now in a condition of enjoying life, liberty, religion, and property.

I shall not content myself with remarks only from the different historians of those days; but let us see the calm and deliberate resolutions of the lords and commons, the representative body of the whole nation: in the first year of King William and Queen Mary, an act of parliament was made, intitled "An Act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown:" It begins thus, "Whereas the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did upon the thirteenth of February, in the year of our Lord 1688, present unto their majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain declaration in writing, made by the said lords and commons in the following words, 'Whereas the late King James the Second, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors,

judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom, by assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without the consent of parliament,' &c. &c. &c. All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws, statutes, and freedom of this realm: and the said late king, having abdicated the government, and the throne thereby being vacant, they the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and all the dominions thereunto belonging," &c. &c. &c. Then they enjoin the following oath to be taken, "I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary: so help me God."

In the declaration presented by the lords and commons to King William and Queen Mary, on their acceptance of the crown, after having ascertained the rights and liberties of the people in the strongest terms, we have the following words: "And it is hereby declared and enacted, that all and singular the rights and liberties, asserted and claimed in the said declaration, are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom; and so shall be esteemed, allowed, and adjudged, deemed and taken to be, and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said declaration."

Let us now step into Scotland, and see what was transacted there at this important juncture. In a grand and solemn convention of their lords and commons, they declare, "That whereas King James the Seventh, by the advice of wicked counsellors, did invade the fun-

damental constitutions of Scotland, and altered it from a legal, limited monarchy, to an arbitrary and despotic power, and exerted that power to the subversion of the protestant religion, and to the violation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, &c. all which miscarriages of King James were utterly and directly contrary to the known laws, freedom, and statutes of the kingdom of Scotland. Upon these grounds and reasons the estates of the kingdom of Scotland did find and declare, that the said King James had forfeited the crown, and the throne was become vacant, and the estates of the kingdom of Scotland had resolved, that William and Mary, King and Queen of England, be declared King and Queen of Scotland, &c.

In these acts of parliament the causes and reasons of the late revolution are fully set forth.

The people of England and Scotland, when they had gone so far, plainly saw the work was but half done. They had only delivered one generation from popery and slavery, and knew, that in case King William and Queen Mary, and the princess of Denmark, left no issue, some popish prince or other, under a pretence of being next in descent, might set up a claim to the crown. This consideration gave birth to another act of parliament, made in the thirteenth year of King William, intituled "An Act for the further limitation of the crown, and for the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject." By this act "the most illustrious Princess Sophia, electress and duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being protestants, were declared the next in succession in the protestant line, to the crown of England, &c. after the late King William and the Princess Anne of Denmark, and their respective issue; and it is enacted, that the crown should be, remain, and continue to the said Princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being protestants; and thereunto the lords spiritual and temporal,

and commons, in the name of all the people of this realm, did most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs, and posterities," &c.

About this time a little popish jacobite party began to peep up; upon which another act of parliament was framed, intituled "An Act of attainder of the present pretended Prince of Wales, of high treason." This jacobite faction still subsisting, our great deliverer, and his glorious parliament, having a dread upon their minds of that popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, from which they had been so lately delivered, were now resolved to do the work effectually; and for that purpose they passed another act for extinguishing the hopes of the present pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders whatsoever, and their open and secret abettors. And, to clinch the nail and make thorough work of it, they framed the abjuration oath, and thereby tied down the people, body, soul, and estates, to maintain and defend the settlement of the crown in the House of Hanover.

By these means our glorious deliverer completed his work, and handed down to us the most pure religion and the best constitution in the universe; guarded and fenced about by oaths and laws, as unalterable as human affairs can be.

I have often wished that the sundry acts of parliament, for limiting and settling the succession of the crown, were more universally known and understood; and that the most significant clauses of them were engraved on monuments of brass or marble, erected for that purpose in every parish church in England; that so the most wicked and impious of all doctrines, that of an absolute, indefeasible, hereditary right, might stand publicly and perpetually condemned.

I have only one remark more, and then shall have done with your famous sermon. You was pleased largely to insist on the obligation all men are under, to pay a due and proper regard to the national religion

and national faith; and endeavoured to prove, that the legislature is at all times truly and properly invested with a power, not only to support the national faith and religion, but to enforce it, and even its different modes and ceremonies, by civil penalties.

I would not be understood here to be running down all establishments, and particularly that of the church of England; but the establishing a national faith and religion, and enforcing the same by civil penalties, does not appear to be reasonable and just, or quite consistent with the nature and end of civil society. Religion, I mean true and real religion, in its own nature is incapable of being established by any law. It is not subject to human inspection, nor can it be controuled by any human authority. It consists in the reverence and love of God, in a constant submission to his divine will, and in a regular and devout obedience to his laws. This is truly religion; but it cannot be infused into the mind by any other means than by argument and persuasion. Therefore I submit it to the consideration of the public, if it be just or reasonable for the magistrate to enforce the national religion and faith by civil penalties. The different modes and ceremonies of worship indeed may be established by the magistrate, but this is not the establishment of religion; these modes and ceremonies are, at best, only forms of godliness, and are often destitute of real devotion, reverence, and love of God. Mahometanism is certainly an imposture, and its different modes and ceremonies of worship are foolish and ridiculous; the establishment of them does not alter their nature, or make them a jot more reasonable and just. Upon the whole, there is something in the nature of true and real religion inconsistent with any civil establishment whatsoever. But the contending for, and establishing a national faith, is still more unaccountable. With respect to faith, every man must believe according to the evidence that is exhibited to him; he cannot help it. Such is the frame of the

human mind, that it cannot withhold its assent or belief from any proposition that shall appear to be true or probable. I evidently perceive two and three make five; were I to gain the world I cannot think otherwise. I have never been at Jamaica, yet I believe there is such a place, and that it lies in or near the particular latitude described in our maps; the testimonies I have received of it are so strong, as force the belief of it whether I will or not. Transubstantiation, the Athanasian creed, and many other things I could mention, are truly mysterious and unintelligible, and therefore cannot be properly the objects of the assent of any reasonable man. Were I threatened with the severest tortures if I did not believe these doctrines, yet the fear of those severe punishments could not force me to the *belief* of them; it would be impossible for me to consider them any otherwise than as absurd falsehoods. The dread of pain might induce me, outwardly, to acknowledge them as true; but this would be no other than a wilful deliberate act of hypocrisy, for which I should stand condemned in my own conscience.

I will grant, the belief of a God is the foundation of all religion; there is no man who makes any use of his reason, but will conclude, that from eternity there must have existed some one, unchangeable, independent, necessary, self-existent Being, from whom all other beings, and all other things that are or ever were, have received their original. It is demonstrably true, that all things could not have risen out of nothing; nor can they have derived from one another in an endless chain or succession. Whatever exists must have a cause, a reason, a ground of its existence; therefore it is one of the most evident truths in the world, that something must have existed eternally and independently: that is, (as Dr. Clarke very justly observes) to exist by an absolute necessity, originally in the nature of the thing. This is the most natural idea of the Supreme Being; therefore I am forced to believe, that there is one only

living and true God, a most pure, glorious spirit, necessarily possessing all possible perfections, eternal, immense, immutable, Almighty, omniscient, independent, infinitely holy, just, and good.

Thus far the light of nature, unassisted by revelation, points out and directs; and the more we consider and contemplate this subject, the stronger we shall find it impressed in our minds: yea this truth is so evident and demonstrable, that it comes with an irresistible power; so that our assent to it is necessary and unavoidable.

Let us now examine the pretensions of revelation, and we shall find the case exactly the same.

It is undeniably true, and we have all the proof and evidence that any reasonable man can desire, that there really was such a person as Jesus Christ, and that he appeared in the world about 1700 years ago; that he was Jesus, the Messiah; and was sent from God, and acted by the authority of God; that he came into the world to establish a pure, spiritual, and undefiled religion, in its nature simple and perfect, freed from superstition and idolatry, not loaded with sacrifices or ceremonies, but every way adapted to make mankind wiser and better. The sublimity of its doctrines, the purity of its precepts, the spirit of love, charity, and universal benevolence, that runs through the whole Christian system, obliges me to believe it has God for its author. Besides, the miracles our Saviour wrought, in confirmation of his doctrine, were many and uncontestable; performed in open day-light, in presence of many hundred people; so that there could not be the least suspicion of any fraud or juggle.

I am very sensible, it is natural for all men to have an over-bearing opinion and esteem of that particular religion they were born and bred up in; but Christianity will bear the strictest inquiry, and stand firm, when the mind is freed from all the bias and prejudice of education. It calls on all its votaries to prove and

examine it; and it has this particular distinction from all other religions whatsoever, that the more it is inspected into, the more its purity, rationality and divine authority will appear: so that I am obliged, whether I will or not, to acknowledge the truth of our Saviour's mission and the divinity of his doctrine; the proofs are so incontestable and conclusive, that it is not in my power to withhold my belief or assent; so that this faith also, like all others, is in its own nature necessary and unavoidable. These premises make it extremely difficult for me to conceive, that any one can be properly punished or rewarded, either here or hereafter, merely for believing or not believing; and abundantly demonstrate, that the power claimed by the civil magistrate, to establish a national faith, is indefensible on rational principles, and not agreeable with the nature and ends of civil society.

With regard to Christianity, it is purely a practical thing, not a speculative one. The Scriptures declare, that faith without works is dead. It avails not; it signifies nothing; let a man believe by the lump, let him swallow creeds by dozens, let him believe all the orthodox established notions, or all the orthodox opinions of the other different parties, yet, if he is an immoral man, he is worse than an infidel. *A good life infers good principles.* Living well is the best evidence we can give that we believe well. Certainly an honest, sober, virtuous, heathen must be more in the favour of God, than a wicked Christian. A pagan, who observes the laws of truth and peace, is infinitely more religious than a profane, turbulent, avaricious Christian priest. Cornelius was a heathen; yet, observe, it is declared of him in Scripture, that he was a devout man, and one that feared God, with all his house; who gave much alms to the people, and prayed to the Almighty.

CONCLUSION.

I MUST here stand still,—make a pause,—and reflect a little on the vast and surprising difference between us and our forefathers, both as protestants and dissenters; especially during the reign of that weak and arbitrary family, the Stuarts. And, really, the consideration is very affecting. I cannot forbear crying out, "To thee, O my God, are due my eternal praises, to thee will I offer my humblest acknowledgements of gratitude and thankfulness!" Blessed, blessed be thy name for ever, that thou hast appointed me to act my part in Great Britain, at a period of time when my person, my estate, my conscience, my religion, are all my own. I am governed, it is true; but willingly governed, because governed by law, and not by the arbitrary dictates of insolent and lawless power. The fruits of my labours are my certain property. My children, those dear pledges of conjugal affection, I educate for myself, in such a manner, as my own prudence and circumstances may direct, without the distressing fear of seeing them torn from me by the bigotry and superstition of crafty and tyrannical priests[1]. Thanks be to heaven, that the days of tyranny and darkness are now at an end, and that the men of the greatest fortunes and abilities, of the present and rising generation, seem to be inspired with an ardent love of liberty, and to have been brought up in an abhorrence of those bitter and slavish principles, whereby wicked and designing men have formerly invaded, and, at last, impiously destroyed the noblest privileges of their country. The infinite importance of liberty[2] is now universally understood; and it is impossible for any nation to be too jealous of every attempt that may have a tendency to infringe or

[1] *Memento* the Schism Bill.

[2] When I speak of civil liberty, I desire always to be understood, as meaning nothing more than being governed by laws of our own making. (Coade.)

destroy it. In short, it is one of the noblest gifts of God to mankind, and the only source and foundation of happiness, both in public and private life.

I have now gone through what I first intended, and, to speak the truth, what was at first wrote for my own private amusement, and without any design of its seeing the light; but when I considered what dreadful havoc (tyranny,) bigotry and superstition had made in the world, I concluded the publication might be of some use, and not unseasonable.

Probably I may have incurred the displeasure of some persons, by advancing things contrary to the commonly received opinions: but I beg leave solemnly to declare, that my intention is perfectly innocent and just. *I design nothing but the defence and support of the best religion, the best laws, and the best government in the world.* I submit all to the candour and good nature of the reader, and do hope he will forgive what was honestly meant, although it should be found to be weakly executed. Should any one object, that I have taken too great liberties with the names and characters of the dead; I reply, That I am fully sensible of the reasonableness and justice of that ancient maxim, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum.* However, this must not extend to history, wherein, for a just recital of facts, the true and full characters of the principal agents are often requisite; and the historian should be under no manner of restraint, but that only of keeping within the bounds of truth and decency [1].

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[1] "It was a saying worthy of that glory of the Stuart family, and indeed of the British nation, Queen Mary (wife of William III.) when reflections were made in her presence upon the sharpness of those historians who had left heavy imputations on the memory of some princes; 'If those princes (her majesty replied) were truly such as the historians represented them, they had well deserved that treatment; and others who tread their steps must look for the same: for truth would be told at last, and that with the more acrimony of style for being so long restrained. It was a gentle suffering to be exposed to the world in their true colours, much below what others had suffered at their hands.'" (*Towgood.*)

APPENDIX.

Page vii. (The Stuart race is now extinct.) Cardinal d'York, grandson of James II. and the last male branch of the family, died at Rome in 1807, at the advanced age of 82.

Page x. (The conduct of Charles in protecting and patronising the Papists was at direct variance with his most solemn assertions and promises.) That he did protect and patronise the Papists, and that it was at direct variance with his most solemn assertions and promises—the following facts fully prove.

In his projected marriage with the Infanta of Spain, among other articles, he swore to these four private ones.

1. That no laws made against Roman Catholics shall at any time hereafter, by any means or chance whatsoever, directly or indirectly, be commanded to be put in execution.

2. That no other laws shall hereafter be made anew against them; but there shall be a perpetual toleration of the Roman Catholic religion within private houses throughout all his dominions.

3. That he will never either directly or indirectly treat or attempt any thing with the princess which shall be repugnant to the Romish religion, nor by any means persuade her to renounce or reject it.

4. That he will use all his authority and influence to have all and singular these articles in favour of the Roman Catholics ratified and confirmed by Parliament; and to have the laws against them revoked, and that no new laws should ever hereafter be enacted against them.

For a fuller account of these articles, as well as the oath taken by Charles to confirm them, see Rapin.

In the marriage treaty with Henrietta Maria of France, the same, or rather greater advantages (according to Neal) were stipulated for the Catholics. In his answer to the Commons' petition in 1625, Charles solemnly promises—"That the laws against Popish shall be put in execution; That no Popish recusant shall be admitted to court but upon special occasion, according to the statute of the 3d of James; That none of his subjects who are Papist recusants shall be admitted into his service, or into that of his royal consort; That all such persons, and likewise all those justly suspected of being recusants, shall be removed from all places of authority and government." Neal says, "It is surprising that the king should make these promises to his parliament within six months after he had signed his marriage articles,

in which he had engaged to set all Roman Catholics at liberty, and to suffer no search or molestation of them for their religion, and had in consequence of it pardoned twenty Romish priests, and (in imitation of his royal father) given orders to his lord-keeper to direct the judges and justices of peace all over England, to forbear all manner of proceedings against his Roman Catholic subjects, by information, indictment, or otherwise; it being his royal pleasure that there should be a cessation of all and singular pains and penalties, whereunto they were liable by any laws, statutes, or ordinances of this realm.

Rapin tells us, that "during the first fifteen years of Charles's reign, the Roman Catholics were not only screened from the rigour of the law, but even encouraged and countenanced to such a degree, that he made them privy-counsellors, secretaries of state, and lord-lieutenants of counties."

"I have before me (says Neal) a list of Popish recusants convicted in the 29 English counties of the southern division, from the first of King Charles to the sixteenth, which amounts to no less than eleven thousand nine hundred and seventy, (as the account was brought into the long parliament by Mr. John Pulford, employed in their prosecution by the king himself,) all of whom were released and pardoned.—Many of them were promoted to places of the highest honour and trust. Sir Richard Weston was lord high treasurer; Sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state; Lord Cotington was chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Porter of the bed-chamber: besides these, there were Lord Conway, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Toby Matthews, Mr. Montague, jun. the duchess of Montague, the countess of Newport, and many others, all Papists, who were in high favour, and had the king and queen's ear whensoever they pleased."

In a message of his majesty to the two houses, in April 1642, he called God to witness, That he would never consent upon *whatsoever pretence* to a toleration of the Popish profession, or abolition of the laws then in force against Popish recusants in Ireland: and at Oxford, in July 1643, as he was going to receive the sacrament, he made the following solemn protestation:

"I espy many resolved protestants *who may declare to the world* the resolution I do now make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared my soul to become a worthy receiver; and may I so receive comfort by the blessed sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true reformed protestant religion as it stood in its beauty, in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, *without any connivance at popery.* I bless God, that in the midst of these public distractions, I have still liberty to communicate; and may this sacrament be my damnation, if my heart do not join with my lips in this protestation!" Notwithstanding these solemn asseverations, Charles was *at this very time*, says Rapin, negotiating the Irish cessation, whereby toleration was granted to the Irish papists; and in a letter to his queen, dated Oxford, March 5, 1644, he says, "I give thee power to promise in my name, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in

England," provided they gave him their assistance, and "I need not tell thee what secresy this business requires." In the course of the same month, he authorizes the earl of Glamorgan (a professed papist, and one of the Irish rebels,) to conclude a treaty of peace privately with his party, and to grant them all their demands on condition they would furnish him with ten thousand men. In this warrant of Charles to the earl of Glamorgan, he acknowledges the "affair" to be one "in which our lieutenant (marquis of Ormond) cannot so well be seen in, and *as not fit for us at the present publicly to own;* therefore, we charge you to proceed according to this warrant with all possible secresy."—The articles agreed on in this treaty may be seen in Rapin.—According to Clarendon, "The king had most solemnly assured the parliament that he would *never consent* upon *whatsoever pretence* to a toleration of the Popish profession in Ireland, or the abolition of the laws in force against Popish recusants in that kingdom."

It is necessary to observe here, that it is not granting toleration to the Catholics, which is imputed to Charles as a crime. No! Persecution of all kinds is as repugnant to the spirit of genuine protestantism, as it is contrary to the soundest principles of enlightened policy.—It is not Charles's toleration we condemn, but it is his breaking his most solemn promises and sacred oaths; this is certainly criminal, and in a king, a crime of the first magnitude. In fact, his oppressive conduct towards the Puritans fully shows, it was not from a principle of toleration that he protected the Papists.

Page xi. (Church sacrifices, Charles made to the Presbyterians.) In 1641, while at Edinburgh, "his majesty allowed of their (the Scotch) late proceedings in opposing the English liturgy, and erecting tables in defence of their liberties; he confirmed the acts of their assembly at Glasgow, which declared, that the government of the church by archbishops and bishops was contrary to the word of God, and was therefore abolished." While in Scotland, *Clarendon* says he resorted frequently to their (the Presbyterians') exercises of public worship; and in the early part of the same year he agreed to the bill "for taking away the bishops' votes in parliament, and for disabling them to exercise any temporal office in the kingdom." The concessions in 1647, at Newport, are stated in page 61 of this work.

Page xi. (His duplicity and insincerity.) Besides the instances given in a former note, "His majesty (in 1628) gave his royal assent to the Petition of Right, (a most important act, being a kind of second Magna Charta,) whereby he bound himself amongst other things not to raise any money by way of loan, gift, benevolence, or tax, without consent of parliament, nor to imprison any person without certifying the cause; both which articles he violated immediately after the dissolution of this parliament, and continued to do so for twelve years together. This breach of his parliamentary word, the most solemn a king can give, was afterwards used as a strong argument that he would break through all his concessions to the parliament of 1640, as

soon as it should be in his power, and thereby proved one occasion of the civil wars." (Tindal.) In the declaration of both houses presented to the king in March 1641-2, they tell his majesty—"They could not but too well and too sorrowfully remember what gracious messages they had from him the last summer; when, with his privity, the bringing up the army (to overawe the parliament) was in agitation; and how, not two days before he gave directions for the accusation of the five members, and his own coming to the house of commons, (to seize and haul them them thence by violence,) that house received from him a gracious message, that he would always have care of their privileges as of his own prerogative, and of the safety of their persons, as of his own children."—"His majesty called God to witness, (the parliament further allege,) that he never had any such thought, or knew of any such resolution of bringing up the army, which must seem strange (even Clarendon says) to those who should read the deposition and examinations of Goring, Piercy, &c. By Hume's account, his majesty not only knew of this affair two months before any public discovery was made of it, but countersigned the draught of a petition from the conspirators, "as a mark of his approbation" of the scheme. Rapin says, "Charles made frequent use of mental reservations, concealed in ambiguous terms and general expressions, of which he reserved the explication at (till) a proper time and place. For this reason the parliament could never confide in his promises, wherein there was always either some ambiguous term, or some restriction that rendered them useless. This may be said to be one of the principal causes of his ruin, because, giving thereby occasion of distrust, it was not possible to find any expedient for a peace with the parliament. He was thought to act with so little sincerity in his engagements, that it was believed there was no dependance on his word."

Page 23. (Rochelle affair.) The two letters referred to in page 24, were not written *before*, but *after* the vessels were given up to the French papists; the following is an account of this transaction as compiled by Towgood. "In the beginning of his reign, when the French protestants were struggling to maintain their liberties and religion against a most perfidious and cruel oppression, King Charles lent the French monarch a squadron of eight ships to help to crush and overwhelm them. But the British soldiers and sailors, when they came upon the coast of France and knew how they were to be employed, were filled with deep indignation, flew into a fury, got up their anchors and set sail for England, declaring they had rather be hanged at home than be slaves to the French, and fight against the protestant religion.—The admiral acquainted the king, who sent him an order to consign his own ship immediately into the hands of the French admiral with all her equipage, artillery, &c., and "require the other seven to put themselves into the service of our dear brother the French king; and in case of backwardness or refusal, we command you to use all forcible means, even to sinking."—In pursuance of this order, the ships were delivered into the hands

of the French: but all the English sailors and officers, to their immortal honour, be it remembered, abandoned them except two. The French having got the ships and artillery, quickly manned them with sailors of their own religion; blocked up the poor oppressed Rochellers; cut off their communication with their protestant friends; reduced them to all the hardships of a most dreadful famine and siege, and forced them to surrender this chief bulwark of the protestant interest in France into the hands of the papists."—At a subsequent period, when Charles had engaged in a war with France, and was desirous of the co-operation of the Rochellers, he solicits the duke of Rohan their leader to take up arms, and *then* wrote the letters quoted by Coade: but Charles's conduct ill suited these great promises. "The French were so alarmed at the invasion of the English under Buckingham, at first, that their king offered the duke of Rohan and the Rochellers any terms if they would join against the English; which they both bravely refusing, it occasioned the ruin of both; for the ungenerous English monarch quickly made peace with France, in which he sacrificed the poor Rochellers, though they sent to implore his assistance with this pathetical expression, That what they now wrote was with their tears and with their blood."

Page 30. (Sibthorp and Manwaring.) "Their doctrines were so highly relished at court, that archbishop Abbot, a pious, learned, and moderate divine, who scorned to sacrifice his country's liberty to the ambition of his prince, was suspended," says Rapin, "from all his archiepiscopal functions, and confined to his country house at Ford, a moorish unhealthy place, for refusing to license Sibthorp's sermon. Manwaring was severely censured and fined by the house of lords, ordered to be imprisoned, suspended for three years, and declared incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office whatever; notwithstanding which, he received the king's pardon with a good benefice, and afterwards a bishopric."

Page 32. (Sir John Elliot sunk and died under his oppressions.) "An affecting portrait of this gentleman is now in the possession of lord Elliot. He is drawn pale, languishing, and emaciated; but disdaining to make the abject submission required of him by the tyrant, he expired under the excessive rigours of his confinement, leaving the portrait as a legacy and memento to his posterity and to mankind; who, in the contemplation of such enormities, have reason to rejoice

'When vengeance in the lucid air
Lifts her red arm exposed and bare.'"

Belsham's *Mem. of the House of Brunswick.*

Page 36. (Prynne.) It is worthy of notice, that Prynne's book was *published* six weeks before the queen acted at Somerset House; notwithstanding which, Laud and his partizans show it to the king and queen the very day after her acting, and inform them that Prynne had *purposely written* this book against the queen and her pastoral.

Page 42. Besides the extracts given from Charles's speeches,

&c. to his parliaments, in the note of this page, it may not be amiss to add the following, taken from his declaration of 1610. "Those ill affected members of the house of commons, instead of an humble and dutiful way of presenting their grievances to his majesty, have taken upon them to be the guiders and directors in all matters that concern his majesty's government both temporal and ecclesiastical, and (*as if kings were bound to give an account of their regal actions and of their manner of government to their subjects assembled in parliament,*) they have in a very *audacious* and *insolent* way entered into examination and censuring of the present government, traduced his majesty's administration of justice, rendered as much as in them lay odious to the rest of his majesty's subjects, not only the officers and ministers of state, but even his majesty's very government, which hath been so just and gracious, that never did this or any other nation enjoy more blessings and happiness than hath been by *all* his majesty's subjects enjoyed ever since his majesty's access to the crown; nor did this kingdom ever so flourish in trade and commerce as at this present, or partake of more peace and plenty in all kinds whatsoever."

Whether this representation betrays gross imposture or gross ignorance of Charles, is left to the reader to determine. Was it not *enough* for Englishmen in those days to have their property plundered; their liberties destroyed; their parliaments insulted; their constitution annihilated, and their country enslaved; to see their leading patriots ruined and rotting in prisons, and their public teachers of religion punished and reduced to poverty, for refusing to profane the Sabbath, to violate their consciences, and for choosing to obey God rather than man? Was it not *enough* that all these injuries were heaped on the heads of our forefathers, but they must be taunted and insulted with a statement of their *flourishing* trade and commerce; their *just* and *gracious* government, and of its *blessings* and *happiness* being superior to what they or any other nation ever before enjoyed? "Were a man (says Harris) disposed to be severe on the memory of Charles, this declaration would afford him abundant matter for it. To hear a government extolled as just and gracious; a nation declared to have enjoyed so great happiness, when all steps had been taken to enslave it, and all orders and degrees of men had experienced the intolerable rigour and severity of the administration; must fill one with indignation against such as attempt so grossly to impose on mankind."

Page 55. (Irish massacre.) "A fair judgement of this horrid affair, it may be observed, cannot be formed without considering it in connexion with the causes that led to it.

It should be viewed as the result of various circumstances, which for a course of years had irritated the minds of the Irish, and at last raised them to a pitch of phrensy and cruelty, of which we cannot read without being shocked at the perusal. The Irish had been pursued with a constant, rigorous, and unremitting persecution. They had suffered extortions, imprisonments, and excommunications. Their estates had been seized under the pretext of a judicial inquiry into defective titles, in which in-

quiry, verdicts against them were extorted from jurors. They had been heavily taxed for their superstitions, and totally precluded the exercise of their religion.—The detail of their sufferings may be seen in Jones's letter to the united societies of Belfast, by which it will appear that from the Reformation, they had been the victims of religious persecution and civil devastation; as (to use the author's words) *almost* to justify, but certainly to extenuate the dreadful ensuing period of 1641." (Toulmin.)

Page 57. The commission produced by Sir Phelim O'Neal, and attested by his majesty's seal, is generally allowed to have been a forgery. "But though the king gave out no commission, there is too much reason to believe (says Neal) that the queen and her popish council, and even the king himself, was not unacquainted with the design of an insurrection before it took place: and that her majesty gave it all the countenance she could. But when these butchers overacted their part to such a degree, as to massacre near 200,000 protestants in cold blood to make way for their empire, it was time for all parties to disown them." It is extremely unaccountable, supposing it to be a forgery, that Charles should never, by any public act or declaration of his own, clear himself of the calumny cast upon him by the attributing the commission to him. In the Eikon Basiliké, Charles is made to say, "Next to the sin of those who began that rebellion, (the Irish,) theirs must need be, who either hindered the speedy suppressing it, by domestic dissentions, or diverted the aids," &c.—By a letter from the earl of Leicester (lord-lieutenant of Ireland at this time,) to the earl of Northumberland, it evidently appears, that the former was continually delayed by his majesty from proceeding to Ireland (he being then in England) to assist the protestants; and when, according to Rushworth, 5000 foot and 500 horse had by the parliament and adventurers been designed to be sent as a brigade under Lord Wharton to Ireland, the commanders, money, arms, all prepared for the expedition at the charge of the adventurers, and nothing wanting but a commission from the king to enable Lord Wharton for that service, it could not be obtained from his majesty; by reason of which, Limerick was wholly lost, and the province of Munster reduced to great distress." And when (according to the same authority) sundry persons had prepared 12 ships and 6 pinnaces with 1000 or more land forces at their own charge for the service of Ireland, and desired nothing but a commission from his majesty to enable them for it, this commission also was denied after twice sending to York for it.—"The admiral and vice-admiral of the ships which were directed to lie upon the coast of Ireland to annoy the rebels, and to prevent the bringing to them ammunition and relief from foreign parts, were both called away from that employment by his majesty's command; and by reason of their departure from the coast of Munster, the rebels there received powder, ammunition, and relief from foreign parts."

We find also in Rapin, that his majesty, by a frivolous pretence, prevented the 10,000 men offered by the Scotch for the service of Ireland, from being accepted; and that the provisions of clothes

and draught horses sent by the parliament for the use of the protestant army in Ireland, were intercepted by the king at Chester, and employed by him "to the maintenance of an unnatural war against his people." Who, it may confidently be asked, hindered the *speedy* suppressing of this rebellion, or diverted the aids sent for that purpose? Surely, the foregoing facts will allow of no other answer, but, 'King Charles and his party.' They were those then, who, next to them that began this rebellion, were chargeable with its sinfulness and atrocity.

Page 60. (Charles II.'s letter.) The letter here extracted from Harris is also given by Neal and Bennet, the former of whom quotes from Ludlow: even Hume tacitly allows its genuineness, though he says, "It is ridiculous to mention the justification which Charles II. gave to the marquis of Antrim, as if he had acted by his father's commission. Antrim had no hand in the first rebellion and the massacre. He joined not the rebels till two years after." Surely, Mr. Hume could never have perused the declaration of the commons *published* on the 25th of July, 1643, in which Antrim is styled "a notorious rebel," and many proofs are given of his *having been and still being* an active partizan of the rebels. The Irish rebellion, it should be observed, broke out on the 23d of October, 1641. Ludlow (a cotemporary) avers it as a well known fact, that the marquis of Antrim had his head and hands *deeply* and *early* engaged in the rebellion, and was among the first in it. Neal classes him with Sir Phelim O'Neal, as being one of the leaders and beginners of the insurrection. Clarendon says, "that at the *breaking out* of the rebellion, he (Antrim) betook himself to the rebels; and Burnet, that "he was the main person in the *first* rebellion, was much relied on by the queen, and was the most engaged in bloodshed of any in the north." Towgood exclaims, "Who, now, after such evidence, can think the character of this unhappy prince (Charles I.) free from deep stain as to this Irish rebellion? Many horrid and black instances of bloodshed and cruelty had been proved upon Antrim: but he *undeniably* showed that he had acted by the king's warrant in what he had done, and King Charles II. affirms, and gives it under his hand, that *all his actings* with the Irish were authorized, directed, and approved by his royal father. Accordingly, Antrim was acquitted, and his forfeited estate restored; the guilt therefore of his actings must lie at *another's* door."

Having perused the preceding pages, it is left to the impartial reader to determine, whether the prince alluded to, be justly entitled to the honours, applause, and even religious epithets so lavishly bestowed on him; or whether he is not proved to have been a weak and arbitrary tyrant, regardless of his most solemn promises, and indifferent to the rights and welfare of his people. The following summary of his conduct from the judicious Rapin, will not be out of place here.

"King Charles endeavoured to establish principles which tended to subvert the constitution of the government, as, That parliaments owed their being to the concession of the kings, and that

this concession might be revoked, and the king might govern and tax his people without parliament. That the king was above the laws; that the parliament had no right to meddle in affairs about which the king did not ask their advice; that to complain of the administration was want of respect to the king; that the parliament at most had but a right to represent the grievances to the king, which done, the redress of them was to be patiently waited for at the king's hands. All these principles, it is easy to perceive, tended to establish a *despotic* power. The king endeavoured upon all occasions to instil these principles into the minds of his subjects, and to establish them upon instances taken here and there of the conduct of his predecessors. He was seen by his actions to draw from them the most extensive consequences; to fill the kingdom with monopolies; to *compel* his subjects to lend or give him money; to dissolve parliaments for not allowing his principles; to imprison such members as ventured to speak freely; and even to declare publicly, that he would call no more parliaments. There was then no middle way. His pretensions were either to be yielded, or opposed with open force." "That is, (says Towgood,) there was no choice left but for the nation to sit still, and to have the chain of despotic government riveted upon its neck; or else to take arms and stand up in defence of its constitution, its liberties and its rights. To the glorious stand which was then made, we owe it, under God, that our freedom is preserved, and that we are not now a nation of abject and helpless slaves groaning under the yoke of arbitrary rule." How unjust and unfounded then are the assertions of those writers, who stigmatize the patriots, who made this glorious stand, as rebels, traitors, and schismatics, and who characterize the war into which they were driven, in defence of all that was dear to them, with the odious name of a rebellion!

The following remarks of Towgood, written in the reign of George II., are peculiarly just, and with them I will conclude: "If this war were a rebellion, so surely was that too which drove King James from his dominions, and made way for the Revolution, and the happy succession under which we are now placed. The war against Charles I., it is carefully to be noted, was waged by the parliament of England legally assembled, an original and essential part of the legislature, sharers in the supreme power together with the king. But the war against James II. was waged by a foreign prince, encouraged and invited over only by particular subjects. If the former therefore was a great rebellion, the latter surely was a much greater. To call it by this name is to reproach the Revolution, to strike at the foundation of our present happy settlement, and to shake the right of his sacred majesty King George to his throne, whom God long preserve a blessing to this, and a bright pattern of justice and tenderness of his people's rights to distant future ages! And of his illustrious house may there never want a branch to be a terror and a scourge to tyrants, and the support of our constitution till time itself shall end!"

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